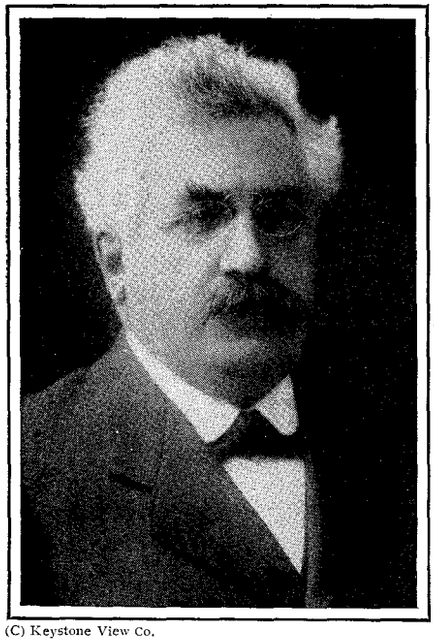
The Outlook

OCTOBER 6, 1920

PRESIDENT MILLERAND

AS was anticipated, Alexandre Millerand was chosen President of France; he received the third highest vote ever given.

The significance of the election lies, first, in the reaction of the French towards a candidate who represents a Clemenceau ruggedness; second, a conviction on the part of Frenchmen that the scope of the Presidency itself should be expanded, according to the lines laid down by M. Millerand, beyond the mere initiation of legislation, naming of civil and military employees, disposal of the



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ALEXANDRE MILLERAND, PRESIDENT OF FRANCE

state's armed forces, and negotiation and ratification of treaties. This, and his demand as to foreign policy, were summarized in the agreement between Parliament and himself as an inducement for him to take the Presidency:

> There shall be no marked changes in national policies; in especial, there shall be no compromise about the revision of the Treaty of Versailles and particularly about the decision of the Millerand Cabinet to insist upon the fixing of the amount and mode of payment of the German debt by the Allied Reparations Commission, rather than by conferences like the recent one at Spa.
>
> The President shall have a more important voice in Cabinet meetings than his predecessors have had, an arrangement to be maintained no matter what party in power shall form a Government. In reality and practice this amounts to a constitutional amendment.

In his first Presidential message M. Millerand declared:

> Parliament will choose the most opportune moment for modification of the present constitutional law. Before starting these modifications, however, we must carry out . . . the total execution of the agreement entered into and signed by our adversary at Versailles.

Alexandre Millerand should make a strong President. He will be in close touch with the people. Any French President should enjoy this contact, because his Cabinet, unlike ours, sits with and is responsible to the legislative branch. Thus no French President could disregard the popular will, as our President disregarded the adverse vote of 1918. But M. Millerand himself is a man of the people; it is suggested by his broad, muscular shoulders, his enormous capacity for work, his plain, blunt insistence on a simple, single course of action—everything about him from his early Socialist days to these latter days when he directs the occupation of Frankfort or the salvation of Poland.

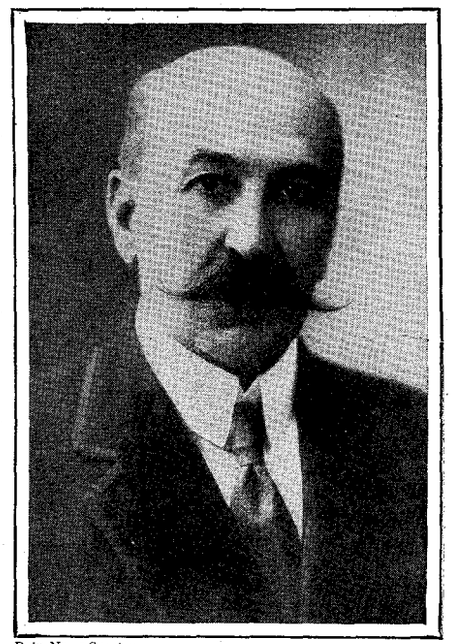
PREMIER LEYGUES

THE present is the first instance in French history when a Prime Minister has taken office with a ready-made Cabinet. Hitherto the Presidents of France have permitted their Premiers to select their own Ministers. Now, however, the new President had exactly the men he wanted for Ministers. Had he not himself, as Premier, chosen them? All he had to do was to select a new Prime Minister.

He named, not Aristide Briand, as was expected, but Georges Leygues. M. Briand has long aimed to be again Prime Minister, and his friends have made powerful efforts for him. It seemed as if the present juncture had brought the office again within his grasp. But M. Millerand, jealous for an exact continuation of the policies he had laid down as Premier, decided upon a man whose mind would doubtless "more willingly go along with" his own.

M. Leygues, who himself had been a Presidential candidate, is a versatile author and publicist; he has written travel sketches, art criticisms, literary essays, and treatises and addresses on historical, social, economic, political, and particularly on educational subjects, his book "The School and Life" being well known.

He has none the less been a prominent figure in French governmental affairs. He has been Minister of Instruction and Finance, Minister of the Interior, Minister of the Colonies, but most notably Minister of Marine in the Clemenceau Cabinet, where he displayed signal efficiency. It was at the request of M. Leygues that our Y. M. C. A. opened club-houses for



Bain News Service
GEORGES LEYGUES, PREMIER OF FRANCE

sailors at numerous places on the French coast during the war.

A TRUCE IN AN INDUSTRIAL WAR

A PERSONAL triumph for the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, was scored when on September 24 the coal miners agreed to a week's truce instead of entering at once into a strike that threatened British industry and British homes. Back of the coal miners stood the other two industries in the "Triple Alliance," the railway and transport workers, with promises of full support. The threat was so serious in its possible consequences that the mine unions, headed by Robert Smillie, evidently hesitated

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at the last minute to issue the fatal order when there was any chance whatever of an agreement. The dreadful results of the miners' strike of 1902, when hundreds of men not miners were thrown out of work and about $60,000,000 in wages was lost, have not been forgotten.

Mr. Lloyd George's suggestion was novel and interesting. It was in essence that the miners should receive an advance in wages—their demand is for an increase of about fifty cents a day; but that the amount of the advance should be based on an increase in the output of coal. The Prime Minister points out that heretofore the output has fallen when wages have advanced. Fair play and the public interest makes it right to insist that more pay shall mean more and better work. A basic line below which the output must not fall would be fixed, but at low enough a figure to insure some advances in wages. What is peculiarly interesting about this proposal is the stress that is laid, not upon the high cost of living or the right of collective bargaining, but on the needs of industry and home comfort. Another indication of the new lines of thought in industrial disputes is that the miners themselves for a long time urged that no increase in price to consumers should follow an advance in wages; the demand was contrary to economic good sense, but it at least recognized the fact that the public was a party to the contest.

Behind the miners' demand for an advance in wages has loomed the question of nationalization of industries. We are glad to note that when the miners' vote to authorize a strike was taken, all over the country there were strong indications that a large proportion of British workers showed definite anti-Bolshevist views. Thus in Yorkshire, where the strike vote was by a narrow margin, the leader denounced Mr. Smillie's plans for "nationalization." "I am as much in favor of nationalization as anybody," he said, "but it must come through the ballot-box, that's all."

We doubt if it will come at all, but most certainly it is a matter for political discussion, not for the "direct action" which means force and starvation.

LAWLESSNESS AND LYNCH LAW IN IRELAND

"Reprisals" is the term used to describe the unauthorized attacks by "Black and Tans," or newly organized police in Ireland, on notorious Sinn Fein advocates of violence, and in some cases the burning of buildings and indiscriminate shooting in quarters where policemen have been shot down. Really these acts are a sort of lynch law, caused by the frequency of assassinations so carried out that the perpetrators escape legal punishment. The most serious cases have been in the towns of Balbriggan and Trim, where there were concerted attacks by groups of enraged men. Just as the Sinn Fein leaders deny complicity or approval of the shooting of policemen, so the Government officials deny any leaning toward reprisals, and the English press almost unanimously denounces them. General Macready, the commander of military forces in Ireland, has been severely criticised for saying that if the guerrilla warfare of the Irish republican army continued the situation might become such that reprisals would be necessary.

It has been truly said that the present state of this guerrilla warfare, marked by assassination on the one side and lawless reprisals on the other, must, if continued, lead to the negation of all government. But it is easier to point out the evil than to suggest a remedy. To the non-partisan American the line of effort would seem to lie in agreement by statesmen and party leaders on such a measure as would recognize the impossibility of Irish secession from the Empire, grant the fullest possible degree of Home Rule, and protect minorities from oppression by majorities. No such measure would satisfy all factions and divisions of Ireland. But the present situation is so desperate that it seems that any public leader in Ireland would prefer compromise to anarchy.

PROGRESS AT RIGA

The reports from the negotiations at Riga between Russian and Polish delegates seem as we write (September 29) to indicate the probability of agreement for an armistice. The Bolsheviki have materially modified their original outrageous demands at Minsk, especially those which looked toward the sovietizing of Poland. Their so-called ultimatum at Riga still contains a good deal of loose generalization about self-determination and local independence, but it may at least furnish a basis for reasonable argument. Poland has sensibly deprecated academic discussions of idealistic theories, and has consented to have separate commissions take up territorial, economic, and financial questions with a view to the framing of tentative terms of armistice.

One would feel more confident of a satisfactory outcome at Riga if it were not for the established reputation of the Bolshevist leaders as to bad faith and trickery. Their recent leaning toward moderation is beyond doubt the result of notable Polish successes in the field, such as the capture of the stronghold of Grodno, of the failure of the Reds to advance their lines in other quarters, and of General Wrangel's recent victories in the Crimean region.

THE GERMANS USE AN AMERICAN CRUTCH

While we are still at war, our enemy seems, on the economic side at least, to be gaining the victories. Little by little, under enemy pressure, the Treaty of Versailles is being shorn of its more drastic features. As to America, the latest German triumph means the return to active business of the Hamburg-American Line. With the conviction that the pre-war facilities of that line could be utilized to the advantage of our merchant marine, the United States Shipping Board, as represented by the American Ship and Commerce Corporation, and the Hamburg-American Line recently entered into an agreement by which the line becomes the American Corporation's agent in Germany, and the Corporation acts in the same capacity for the German line here. Transatlantic passenger and freight services will be operated between American and German ports, and other services also will be established by our ships between Germany and ports other than ours. The agreement permits each side to operate fifty per cent of the vessels.

The Germans have not now a sufficient number of ships to meet this limit. Therefore for the first few years of the twenty-year contract most of the work will be done by American ships and capital. Thus, while the provisions of the agreement seem reciprocal, they really mean that our Government has pledged itself to assist Germany to regain her old footing in the North American, South American, and other trades. The American flag is to cover a German advance. The Germans evidently want to use our ships as a crutch with which to support themselves until they are ready to put their expected tonnage into commission.

We are not surprised, therefore, that this announcement has called forth a protest from the American Steamship Owners' Association. It asserts:

> Even though our Government-owned ships were operated under the American flag, their transfer from our ports to Hamburg by the direction of the Shipping Board, to be handled by the

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

AS SELECTED BY OUTLOOK READERS

(See offer on page 211)

Pease in the Newark Evening News

"MURDERED TO MAKE ME TREMBLE!"

From Rev. H. A. Pearce, West Orange, N. J.

Alley in the Memphis Commercial Appeal

AND AMERICA IS THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD!

From R. H. Jordan, Memphis, Tennessee

Knott in the Dallas Morning News

BRUTUS COX

From E. L. Henegar, Gordon, Texas

From Nippon and Nipponese, Tokyo

Is this a case of jiu jitsu or merely massage? We don't entirely get the meaning of this, but we suspect that some one is not being complimentary to the Hon. Uncle Sam

From Senjiro Ohashi, Berkeley, California

Why don't you give them their independence?
¿Por qué no les dán ustedes la independencia?
And why don't you give the Filipinos their independence?
Y ¿por qué no da usted la independencia á los Filipinos?
Yes, why don't you?
Eso es, ¿por qué no se la dá usted
UNCLE SAM
JOHN BULL
IRELAND
JAPAN
PHILIPPINES
KOREA

From the Philippine Free Press

"The Philippines are very much indebted to the United States," says the sender of this cartoon, "but in spite of that they want independence. That this cartoon shall find hearts that sympathize with the situation of the Philippines is the hope of one of the liberty-loving souls of the Philippines"

From Jose G. Flores, Lasag, Ilocos Norte, Philippines

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Hamburg-American Line as agent in its foreign trade, would be regarded as a quasi-partnership with an enemy corporation that has no right to such consideration from the American people.

IS THE PRESIDENT ABOVE THIS LAW?

On June 5 the President signed the Jones Bill providing for the American merchant marine. Section 34 of the bill directed him, within ninety days after that act should become law, to notify the governments with whom we had entered into treaties that we would terminate so much of the treaties as concerned our right to impose discriminating customs duties on imports and discriminatory tonnage dues, according as the carrier vessels were domestic or foreign; in other words, to terminate any parts of commercial treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the act.

The ninety days came and went. Not until September 24 did the American people learn that the President would not fulfill the implicit pledge he made when he signed the bill. A notice from the Secretary of State announced the President's refusal to follow the direction of Congress because he did not deem such direction "an exercise of any Constitutional power" possessed by that body.

The language of Section 34, however, is similar to that of the La Follette Seaman's Act, which also directed the President to give notice of the termination of parts of treaties inconsistent with its provisions. The President signed that act and the conflicting treaty provisions were changed.

The reason given for the President's signature to the Jones Bill containing directions which he regards as unconstitutional is, as stated by the Secretary of State, that "the Merchant Marine Act was approved June 5, in the final rush of the session's close, with no opportunity to suggest, much less to secure, its revision in any particular." Yet the provisions of that very important bill, vital to our National interests, had been debated for months in and out of Congress. There had been plenty of opportunity for suggestion. In fact, there had been suggestion from those supposed to be near the President. But their suggestions were overborne by contrary suggestions from another group which had been successful in persuading the President of their point of view. The President regards the main provisions of the law as beneficial and as not invalidated by what he thinks are unconstitutional provisions, tending, if he observed them, to throw our foreign trade relations into chaos.

This act of the President's presents in concrete form two of the chief issues raised by the course of his Administration. It displays, on the one hand, the President's internationalism, which has aroused the protest that he has not sufficiently regarded the interests of his own country, and, on the other hand, his consciousness of power as Chief Executive, which has aroused the protest that he has not sufficiently regarded the authority of Congress. It is these two issues, of nationalism *versus* internationalism and of personal rule *versus* party rule, that the people have consciously or subconsciously in their minds as during the campaign they are forming a verdict upon Mr. Wilson's Administration.

Quit railing at the farmer for the high cost of food. It looks as if the cost of producing foodstuffs cannot be reduced. But the cost of distribution can. Get together and form a co-operative consumers' league, and eliminate the profits of the speculators. J. Madison Gathany's article, "Must Food Prices Stay Up?" in next week's issue of The Outlook, tells you how.

IN THE REPUBLICAN VINEYARD

Chairman Hays, of the Republican party, has announced the appointment of a campaign advisory committee of twenty-four men and sixteen women, and has stated that the names on this committee indicate that "the great party of the Union is indeed a unit." We suppose this statement has reference to the fact that on this committee are many former Progressives with a capital P. On the list there are the names of ex-Senator Beveridge, of Indiana; Governor Thomas E. Campbell, of Arizona; Governor Joseph Maull Carey, of Wyoming; ex-Senator Joseph M. Dixon, of Montana; and Mr. John C. Shaffer, who is a widely known newspaper man of the Middle West.

The Outlook has repeatedly questioned the political wisdom of the Republican managers in failing to give greater recognition to the largest element in the Republican party, the element which followed Theodore Roosevelt into the Progressive party in 1912. We believe that this tardy recognition of progressive-minded Republicans does not wholly relieve the Republican managers from the charge of discriminating against the majority element of their party.

It is only about a month now until election day. The real proof of the willingness of the Republican managers to share the control of their party must now wait until the Republican party is returned to power, if it is, after the November election. It remains to be seen whether the laborers who have been invited so tardily into the vineyard are to be given the same reward as those who kept control of the party machinery after 1912.

The reward in this case which progressive-minded Republicans are looking for is neither political preferment nor favoritism. It is merely a recognition of their right to help control the policies of a party in which they are greatly in the majority.

A FOREMOST JEW

Jacob Henry Schiff is dead at the age of seventy-three. He was perhaps the most influential Jew in this country.

He was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main. The son of a prosperous banker, he received a good education until the age of eighteen, when he came to the United States. Here he obtained employment as a bank clerk. In a few years he became junior partner in a banking firm, and then in another—Kuhn, Loeb & Co.—of which he was ultimately to become the head. Under his direction the firm took part in operations of great magnitude, such as the reorganization of the Union Pacific and of the Southern Pacific Railways, and the floating of the Japanese loan.

The outbreak of the war found Mr. Schiff a defender of Germany to this extent—except for the ambition of a few military and Junker extremists, he declared that Germany had no thought of trying to dominate Europe, much less the world. When, however, we entered the war, he loyally supported the American cause, not only subscribing great sums to Liberty Loans and Red Cross funds (as he did to many another cause), but giving what was more valuable, his time and energy to promote the drives. He ardently espoused the idea of a League of Nations.

But it was as a Jew that Mr. Schiff

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was most interesting. Passionately devoted to his race, he never forgot its sad lot in such countries as Russia or Rumania. His gifts to oppressed Jews everywhere were not only colossal in amount, but also noteworthy in number. By millions of Jews in this and other countries his name has long been held in grateful honor. For many years Mr. Schiff opposed the Zionist movement, insisting that, instead, Jews should identify themselves politically with the fortunes of the communities and nations in which they lived. More lately, however, he was able to support the economic and educational phases of the Zionist movement, and even to accept the Zionist ideal as inevitable in the working out of the Jewish problem as a whole. But what, as a measure of immediate and pressing importance, lay closest to his heart, was his longing, expressed in his own words, "to secure full civil rights for our brethren in Russia, in Rumania, in Poland, in Palestine, for they are all flesh of my flesh and bone of my bone."

Of high personal integrity, of exemplary private life, of quiet, simple manner, of gentle and gracious disposition, Jacob Schiff carried into his every effort the desire to work not for himself alone but for others.

ARE PRICES ON THE DECLINE?

THE announcement of the Ford Motor Company that the price of its omnipresent vehicles had been reduced to a pre-war level created widespread interest and speculative comment. The reason offered for this reduction is in an announcement which reads in part as follows:

> The war is over and it is time war prices were over. There is no sense or wisdom in trying to maintain an artificial standard of values. For the best interests of all it is time that a real practical effort was made to bring the business of the country and the life of the country down to normal.
>
> Inflated prices always retard progress. We had to stand it during the war, although it wasn't right, so the Ford Motor Company will make the prices of its products the same as they were before the war.
>
> This in face of the fact that we have unfilled orders for immediate delivery of 146,065 cars and tractors.
>
> We must of course take a temporary loss because of the stock of materials on hand, bought at inflated prices, and until we use that stock up we will have to submit to a loss, but we take it willingly in order to bring about a going state of business throughout the country.
>
> Raw materials are being stored; manufactured goods are being stored, because the volume of consumption is growing less and less and less, through the self-denial of the people, many of whom could not afford to pay the high prices. Others would not pay the high prices because they felt the injustice of the situation. Manufacturing plants are being shut down all over the country. Labor is being thrown out of employment, yet the cost of living has seen very little reduction. . . .
>
> Now is the time to call a halt on war methods, war prices, war profiteering, and war greed. It may be necessary for everybody to stand a little sacrifice, but it will be most profitable, after all, because the sooner we get the business of the country back to a pre-war condition, the sooner the lives of our people become more natural—progress, prosperity, and contentment will occupy the attention of our people.
>
> There will be no change in wages.

International

HENRY FORD, PRICE-REDUCER

Any public-spirited citizen who, in view of the loss referred to in Mr. Ford's statement, contemplates the advisability of starting a drive for funds to keep Mr. Ford out of the poorhouse will, we think, be ill advised. As a business man Mr. Ford has a long-established reputation for seeing quite a bit further ahead than the next man. Going back into ancient history, he saw the flaws in the Selden patents and fought single-handed a lawsuit which relieved the automobile industry of a tremendous burden. He was the first to perceive the field for the small, cheap car. With perhaps one exception, he has been the only automobile manufacturer to confine his attention to a single model at a single time. He was the first automobile manufacturer to see the financial advantage of high wages, and has been the leader in the scientific reduction of manufacturing costs.

No, we are not worrying about the future of the Ford Company at all. But Mr. Ford's reputation for financial farsightedness does lend a significance to the announcement of the Ford Company which deserves serious consideration.

Following the Ford announcement two of the largest mail-order houses in the world—Sears, Roebuck & Co. and Montgomery Ward & Co., of Chicago—both announced substantial reductions in many lines of merchandise. The textile trades have also found it necessary to effect reductions in the wholesale prices of their manufactured goods, and some of the lumber interests have likewise lowered the wholesale prices of their building materials. The general indications are that most of these reductions have been caused by a slowing up in the movement of goods into the hands of consumers and that they have been caused by a desire to keep the wheels of business turning.

FOR HONEST BASEBALL

THE charges of bribery and foul play which have been under investigation by the Chicago Grand Jury, with the result that several of the players of the "White Sox," the Chicago club of the American League, have been indicted, are, in a way, a warmed-over scandal. They relate entirely to the buying or attempted buying of games last year, and particularly to the assertion that there was dishonest practice in connection with one of the games in the World Series, which, as every one knows, forms the crucial and final contest in professional baseball and determines the world's championship. It is declared that money was paid by a syndicate of gamblers to certain players with the design of having the victory in the World Series thrown to the Cincinnatis of the National League by the Chicagos of the American League.

Professional baseball is an industry as well as a sport. Millions of dollars are invested and salaries of skilled players are astonishingly large. The two major Leagues have a system of government; a system of employing paid umpires, sent where ordered, so that fair umpiring is assured; a system of hearing charges and acting upon them; a system of disciplining and fining unruly players, and so on. The game can be kept square and sound only by constant care and unswerving discipline.

The special danger at this time

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seems to be from the forming of gambling syndicates through which very large sums of money are placed in bets, with an evident temptation toward corrupt practices to insure knowledge of results beforehand.

Once before the baseball world went through a period of scandal and reformed itself. Forty-five years ago, as Mr. A. G. Spalding (famous in his day as a member of the old Cincinnati Red Stockings) tells us in his work on the history of baseball: "Things were rotten. Gambling in all its features of pool-selling and side-betting was still openly engaged in. A few players, too, had become so corrupt that nobody could be certain as to whether the issue of any game in which these players participated would be determined on its merits. The occasional throwing of games was practiced by some, and no punishment was meted out to the offenders."

In 1876 the National League, the first of the great professional leagues, was formed. It set to work to abolish such evils as those just mentioned. In 1877 Hartford and Louisville teams played a series of games in Brooklyn to decide the championship. Louisville had much the best record in winning games, but in the pool-rooms all the professional gamblers backed Hartford. Hartford won, and on investigation four of the Louisville players were discharged and blacklisted out of organized baseball for "throwing the game." Since then baseball has been as clean as any professional sport on such a large scale can be.

Baseball is a fine game, and it must be kept clean. There is a good deal in the dictum of the "Sun and New York Herald" that "if the public should ever come to the conclusion that professional baseball is crooked, then the ownership of the best club in the country would not be worth a lead quarter."

A CASE OF PETTY PLAGIARISM

We regret to have to state that a brief article which appeared in The Outlook of August 25 under the title "Camphor in Formosa" and purporting to be written by Mary L. Looram was in no sense original. Our attention having been called to the fact that it was practically identical with passages in an article by Alice B. Kirjassoff in the "National Geographic Magazine" for March last, we naturally asked Miss Looram for an explanation. She replied that she had not seen the "National Geographic Magazine," but had taken what she sent us from an article in the New York "Times," had verified it, condensed it, and sent it to The Outlook. We find the article in the "Times" of May 23 last. On comparing it with the article sent to us as a contribution, we find that the "Times" gave full credit for its extracts to the correspondent of the National Geographic Society and inclosed its extracts in quotation marks. The "condensation" of the "Times" article claimed by Miss Looram consisted in the omission of all the credit sentences and quotation marks in the "Times" article and in a few trivial verbal changes and omissions. The article as it came to us was not in substance or wording the work of the contributor who placed her name at its head.

In a sense this is a small literary misdemeanor; the contribution was only a few hundred words; the compensation paid the author was correspondingly small. But the principle involved is not affected by the extent of the transaction; plagiarism is plagiarism; it is really the duty of editors to state the plain facts in cases like this in the interest of honest journalism and fair literary dealing. The editorial in our issue of September 15 on plagiarism entitled "Why Do They Do It?" was suggested by the incident.

WE ACKNOWLEDGE FALLIBILITY

Unlike most journals, The Outlook occasionally makes mistakes. On another page one of our readers points out our amusing substitution of the vowelly vocable Ohio for the other vowelly vocable Iowa. We are only glad that we did not say Hawaii.

Two or three of our readers have simultaneously discovered two other of our errors, which seem less excusable, though perhaps not so important. They both occurred in our account of the Wisconsin primaries. We put Mr. Esch in Milwaukee, entirely contrary to his custom of living, and, indeed, in violation of his right to live where he has his residence. And we also said that six years ago Mr. Lenroot became Mr. La Follette's associate, forgetting for the moment that Mr. Lenroot entered the Senate to fill the unexpired term of the late Paul Husting.

We hope that we shall be forgiven by our readers who themselves are occasionally subject to error, and equally hope that we shall not be forgiven by any reader who himself never makes a mistake.

AN OPEN LETTER TO AN OUTLOOK READER

I have been much interested in your discussions of the political issues this summer, but anent your editorial "Senator Harding on the League of Nations," in the issue of The Outlook for September 8, I should like to ask the following questions:

1. If the Democrats *should* win the election in November on the issue of the League of Nations, do you think the Republican Senators would still block the ratification of the Treaty, *in the face of the popular will?*

2. If the Republicans should win the election in November on the issue of some other plan, do you think the Democratic Senators would be *more amenable to the popular will* and furnish the necessary votes?

3. Do you think "an international tribunal" "without power to compel obedience to their decisions by armies and navies" could, under the circumstances, have won any more "distinguished success" in the eastern parts of Europe than has been secured to the present time?

4. Has not the peace of the world been disturbed in the past ten years exclusively by those nations like Austria, Germany, and Russia which would not submit their disputes to such an international tribunal?

5. Why do you insist that the present League is only executive (diplomatic) when Mr. Root and others are organizing a court of arbitration as a part of the League?

If you would meet and answer such questions as these, instead of laboriously trying to find excuses for supporting the Republican Presidential candidates, you would cheer the hearts of your loyal readers.

PERPLEXED VOTER.

Pray do not think that the brevity of my answers to your questions indicates any lack of respect. My desire is to approach as nearly as possible in my answers the clearness and the brevity of your questions.

1. Whatever the result of the pending Presidential election, I do not think it is possible that the Senate will ratify the Paris League. Evidently the entire Republican party has been opposed to it in its present form. It is almost equally evident that a considerable minority in the Democratic party is opposed to it. Whether Mr. Cox would, if elected, prove more conciliatory than Mr. Wilson, I do not know; but I consider it as certain as anything future can be that the United States Senate will not agree in advance to join in preserving as against external aggression the existing territorial boundaries of other nations.

2. If the Republicans should win the election in November, it is reasonably certain that Congress will at once pass the resolution, which President Wilson

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has vetoed, or a similar resolution, declaring that peace now exists between Germany and the United States, and so will put an end to the present disturbed condition which is neither peace nor war. It is certain also that the Republican Senate will do what it can to carry out its pledge to establish an agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world by the creation of an international supreme court and of a general international conference; and almost equally certain that the Senate and the President will fulfill the promise of Mr. Harding: "I would hopefully approach the nations of Europe and of the earth, proposing that understanding which makes us a willing participant in the consecration of nations to a new relationship; to commit the moral forces of the world, America included, to peace and international justice, still leaving America free, independent, and self-reliant, but offering friendship to all the world."

3. I think that an international tribunal organized by the civilized nations of the earth will secure acceptance of its decisions by those nations without any international police to enforce them. That belief rests upon experience. The Supreme Court of the United States never has had and has not now any power to enforce its decisions. The United States marshals are not appointed by the Court, nor can they be removed by the Court. They are appointed by the President, and twice in the early history of the Nation when the President refused to act the decision of the Court was disregarded. The public opinion of the Nation has now been so developed that the decisions of the Court are accepted by the whole Nation regardless of party affiliations. I believe that about one hundred international cases have already been submitted to the arbitration of a court which had no power to call upon an international police to enforce its decisions, and I do not know of any cases in which the decisions arrived at have not been peacefully accepted by the parties in interest. I have much more faith in securing both international justice and international peace by the creation of an international tribunal without police power than by the creation of an international police to enforce its decisions.

4. It is possible that the peace of the world may be again disturbed by a barbaric nation. Any nation which violates its treaties, despises international law, and disregards world public opinion is a barbaric nation. In my judgment, it will be safer to trust the civilized nations, including America, to defend civilization against barbarism if ever another irruption of barbarism takes place than it will be to pledge the civilized nations to put military forces under the control of a committee organized now in apprehension of any such international disaster.

5. Another correspondent writes me: "I wish very much that you were more in favor of our going into the League of Nations and would give it your support. . . . Although I had supposed that my first Presidential vote would be given to a Republican, I feel now that I must vote for Mr. Cox, on this issue alone."

It curiously illustrates the perplexity and conflicting state of the public mind that this correspondent proposes to vote for Mr. Cox in order to secure an international agreement, while I think that the election of Mr. Cox would be fatal to any international agreement, and that the election of Mr. Harding will be almost sure to bring about an international agreement. While there was any hope that President Wilson would accept such reservations of the Treaty as would make it possible for the Republican Senate conscientiously to accept the Treaty I urged a compromise, *in* the Senate and *with* the President. That hope is gone. My hope now for an international agreement is based upon the election of a President and a party who have pledged themselves to an international association based upon international justice and free from certain pledges to which it is quite evident that a large proportion and probable that a large majority of the American people are opposed. Mr. Harding's election, I think, affords the greatest hope of peace at home and international peace, founded on some adequate method of securing international justice, abroad. LYMAN ABBOTT.

GILDA VARESI IN "ENTER MADAME"

"ENTER MADAME"

THERE are at least three plays in New York City which are "sold out" well in advance. One of these is "The Bad Man," described in last week's issue of The Outlook. The second is "The Bat," which we have not seen, and the third is "Enter Madame," one of the most vivid presentations of personality which has appeared on the New York stage in recent years. The title part is played by that most interesting actress, Gilda Varesi, who is herself part author of the play. It will be remembered that she took Jack Barrymore's place in "The Jest" during his enforced absence because of illness.

"Madame" is an opera singer, a bird of paradise, a butterfly, a tropical orchid, a compound of genius and child, with the will of the waves but the inevitableness of the sea. The plot of the play is based on that familiar geometrical figure known as the triangle. The tempestuous heroine, as the curtain rises, is on the verge of losing her husband to a woman who clings. Her husband, convinced of his weariness of the turmoil accompanying the cyclonic progress of his wife through the capitals of the world, is easy game for that flattering adoration which has served so often as a trap for masculine egotism. The use of such a weapon, either on or off the stage, reminds us of the colloquy between Major Parker and Colonel Bramble

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in that delightfully humorous analysis of French and British character "Les Silences du Colonel Bramble," by André Maurois. It is Major Parker who says of the Germans, "Bombarding open towns is almost as unpardonable as fishing for trout with a worm or shooting a fox," and the Colonel replies, coldly, "You shouldn't exaggerate, Parker; they haven't gone as far as that yet." It is so easy to catch some men by appeal to their vanity that the attack of Madame's rival should almost be classified with the shooting of a fox or the fishing for trout with a worm.

How Madame circumvents her rival and departs in triumph for South America with her husband cannot be successfully told other than by the tongue and the gestures of Gilda Varesi. "Enter Madame" deserves a high place among the recent plays of personality and character.

SILENCE

"HAVE you ever considered," said the Young-Old Philosopher, "how important silence is—and how little of it we get?"

We told him we knew exactly that; for we live in a great city and seldom have time to leave our desk.

"Yet there it is—stretching out all around us," he went on, waving his arms to indicate some vast though vague territory which of course we could not see, "and we get none of it. The silence of the prairies is waiting for us to come and bathe our souls in its healing tides; the pensive silence of the woods calls to us forever; but how few can heed the call! Instead, we drudge on in the hammering, humming town, and, even if we went out into the great spaces, we should be like the city-pent fellow who, after a brief night in the quiet country, had to rush back to cobblestones, since the unaccustomed silence almost drove him mad. His brain cells had become so used to noise and friction that he missed them when they were absent. To such a state can we bring ourselves in a clamorous world. And how pitiful it is!

"But it was not this phase of silence that I intended to go into when I began," the Young-Old Philosopher rambled on. "I meant to point out that, wonderful as the anodyne of quiet can be for tired and jaded nerves, have you ever thought what a weapon silence is against our enemies? Let a man berate you, speak ill of you when you are not present, cry out that you are anathema, yell at the top of his voice that you are a cheat and a fraud and a rascal—let him do all this, and then calmly meet his charges with dignified silence, and see how helpless and hopeless he will become. For silence is a sword that cuts the very heart of those who are unfriendly toward us. Remain speechless amid the clamor of your accusers, and they will not know of what you are thinking; they cannot guess what thoughts of contempt are passing through your mind, and they will be driven almost to the wall of distraction. There is nothing that maddens one more than to receive no answer to a communication, whether spoken or written. If I evade you, refuse to meet you, evince no concern over anything you say or write, I can soon work you into a state of frenzy—which is exactly what I have set out to do. We can confound our treacherous neighbors more swiftly through keeping silent than in any other way—and, what is better still, keep our self-respect.

"But the silence of the hills and the silence of the mind become stupid unless we take something out of them, dig the gold from that great treasury of stillness. To remain simply quiescent is to remain sluggish. We must think during our periods of intense silence and dream of what we shall do when we get back to the noise of the world. Silence is a fortress to which we can retire, and should retire, now and then, in order to hear ourselves think and feel ourselves grow. A wonderful place in time of attack, in seasons of spiritual peril.

"'Silence is golden' means more than you dream it does. Like all truisms, it is founded on centuries of human experience."

THE SECOND SOCIALIST OUSTER AT ALBANY AND THE HOUSING CRISIS IN NEW YORK CITY

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

REPUBLICAN MEMBER OF THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK AND PROFESSOR AT HAMILTON COLLEGE

THE second Socialist ouster and the housing crisis have no casual connection with each other, but they were the outstanding events of the recent extraordinary session of the New York State Legislature. A year ago almost nobody knew that there was a Socialist in the Assembly of the State of New York. Now everybody knows it and is interested in it. The Socialist cause and programme have received a vast gift of advertising and exploitation in all the newspapers of the country, thanks to the ineffably stupid strategy of the opponents of Socialism in the State of New York! Last winter many weeks of valuable time and between one and two hundred thousand dollars in State fees for high-priced counsel were expended by the Speaker of the Assembly and his friends in ousting the now famous five Socialists from the lower house of the Legislature. "And the cat came back, couldn't stay no longer, so she just came back." When the call for the recent special session went forth, new elections were ordered in the five districts, and the same five Socialists were returned by increased majorities. Three of them were again incontinently ousted, and the other two resigned in sympathetic comradeship. In all probability they will all be back again in January, and perhaps others with them in both Senate and Assembly.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE OUSTER

How do you account for it? Well, the original ousting was in part a phenomenon of the hold-over war psychology. A large element of the rather conservative up-State population of New York believed that the Socialists were altogether too friendly to Lenine internationalism during the war. Besides, the investigation by the Assembly unearthed disquieting provisions in the constitution of the Socialist party of America. It appeared, for example, that aliens had a voice in the membership, that any Socialist elected to office who should vote to appropriate money for military or naval purposes would be expelled from the party, and that resistance to conscription both of life and labor and repudiation of war debts were written into the most recent National declaration of principles of the Socialists. There were other less creditable factors of class bias and racial and religious prejudice which entered into the original decision of ouster, but the five Socialists were finally excluded on one alleged ground alone, namely, their membership in a party whose declaration of principles at the time was at certain points in opposition to the Constitution of the State of New

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York and of the United States of America. The report of the Judiciary Committee, upon which the vote of ouster was taken, explicitly declared that no question of personal guilt was involved, as personal guilt had not been proved.

Since last winter the objectionable provisions of the Socialist constitution and rules have either been eliminated by referendum or are on the way to elimination by amendment process throughout the Socialist constituency. This was made clear in the statement read by the Speaker of the Assembly himself to the House when it convened in extraordinary session. Also the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee called attention to the fact that no personal guilt had been found to attach to any one of these five Assemblymen during the investigation last winter, and that the Assembly had ousted them upon other grounds and upon the understanding that no personal guilt attached to any of them. Nevertheless the Assembly, without further investigation and with meager discussion, proceeded to oust three of the five members again, and this time *on the ground of personal guilt!* The second ouster, so far as I could make out, was effected without much direct leadership, by a combination of elements in the body, made up of racial and religious prejudice, a pride of opinion in backing up the former vote, and the remnants of the war spirit on the part of several prominent Assemblymen who had been in the Army.

Undoubtedly the second decision was illogical and subversive of parliamentary government to the last degree. The prospective infusion of much new blood into the Assembly next winter will make the judgment cooler and a little more time will heal the war wounds as well as the more irrational of the war prejudices. The whole process from the beginning had one sound factor in it, intensified by the war, namely, the natural resentment of every true American in opposition to anything or anybody who is against the Government. But the method of small tyranny under which the original proceedings were inaugurated, and the riotous prejudice and narrowness of vision which at times marked the investigation and the discussion, and this final ouster upon no ground of logic or law or common sense, have entirely overshadowed any sound purpose of which there was originally some intermixture. If there is no better method than this of fighting unsound doctrine in America, then the country is doomed.

SHELTER FOR NEW YORKERS

When the Assembly was through with its second spasm of spewing Socialists out of its mouth, the Legislature turned to the housing crisis in New York City. Of course this is a part of an existing National crisis for all great industrial cities, felt most acutely in New York. So far as it results from the pressure of workers in war industries pouring in from the country it will soon in many parts be measurably relieved. But the causes go deeper. The unfavorable environment of the village and the farm all over the Eastern States of the country is urging the population into the cities. The absence of rational effort on the part of the Federal Government to distribute immigration where it is needed leads to a huddled congestion of the foreign-born in the cities, and especially in New York City. The almost prohibitive costs of labor and materials give pause to the investor, who looks forward to the time of falling costs and prices and values, not very far ahead. The result for a city like Greater New York is that several hundred thousand human beings lack adequate shelter. And in the fierce competition for homes the profiteering landlords see opportunity for easy prey.

A hundred thousand notices of dispossession had been served by landlords upon tenants in New York City for the first of October. A hundred thousand changes of residence were being promoted, under conditions that would make possible unconscionable increases in rentals on the part of landlords of a profiteering strain. There was believed to be danger of mob action, mob passion, and vast injustice. The programme adopted by the New York Legislature to curb the rent profiteersmen is at once most unusual and drastic. It is not likely that it will remain permanently upon the statute-books unless housing comes speedily to be reckoned a legal public utility. The new acts everywhere put the burden of proof upon the landlord. The acts allow a landlord to dispossess a tenant who holds over for three reasons only: because the tenant is clearly objectionable, because the owner wishes the premises for the occupancy of himself and his family, or because he wishes to rebuild —and he must show the validity of any one of these alleged reasons to the satisfaction of a municipal court justice who has the rent cases in charge. The acts make it impossible to dispossess the occupant of a leased or rented apartment for the purpose of letting it to a higher bidder. If the tenant believes the rent unreasonable, he may refuse to pay. The case then goes to the municipal court. Pending the proceeding in the court, the tenant deposits with the justice an amount equal to the last month's rent. If the court holds that there is justification for the increase, the tenant must pay the difference between his deposit and the new rent fixed, or else move. If the court does not allow the rent to be increased, the deposit goes to the landlord for the payment of a month's rent. If the case is appealed, and takes more than a month for final decision, the tenant must make additional deposit with the court for each month through which the case is prolonged. But the tenant is protected in his possession until the court determines the reasonableness of the increased rental. The acts prevent evictions except for genuine cause, and compel the landlord to prove to the court that the rent received is not extortionate and out of proportion to his investment.

The stimulation of house building was found to be a far more difficult problem, just because the causes of the lack of housing are so varied and deeply rooted. Really only one measure of relief was attempted, a sort of drastic drug for insomnia, to put the patient into a condition in which he may later proceed towards normal under more natural treatment. A bill was passed permitting localities to exempt from all general property taxation for a term of twelve years such construction of housing and tenements as should be begun within eighteen months after the act should take effect. By this plan present builders would be put on a much more even keel with those who built at pre-war costs. This plan does not meddle with any existing taxable objects; it is for a brief fixed period. The new construction itself will in time become taxable, and in the meantime the land upon which it rests and the abutting property will have added assessment and taxable value.

This rather drastic stimulation of private initiative was felt by the Legislature to be a safer remedy than that of municipal construction and operation, which was urged vehemently by the government of New York City. The chief struggle of the session came over the issue of exempting mortgage interest from the operation of the State income tax, in order, as it was alleged, to loosen up the mortgage market and cause mortgage funds to flow into new building. This method was definitely discarded by the Legislature when it was found that it was impossible to exempt new home mortgages without exempting all mortgages, when it was found that the small amount of saving under the State income tax of one or two per cent was quite inadequate to make any difference to the building investor, and when it was found finally that any burden taken off the mortgage would fall back upon and be made up by the real estate itself. Very powerful loaning interests in New York City contended for this exemption, but it was undoubtedly wisely denied them. As it was, it was a revelation of the lengths to which men of conservative minds found it necessary to go in the use of the power of government in order to check injustice and to stimulate production in one of the great necessaries of living.

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THE AUTHOR OF THE "MARSEILLAISE" HONORED BY A BRONZE TABLET

The people of Milwaukee have given this tablet, the work of Daniel Chester French, of New York City, to the people of Strasbourg, the chief city on the soil restored to France. It will be placed on the façade of the Hôtel de Ville in Strasbourg on November 11, "Armistice Day." The inscription on the tablet, written by Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, is as follows:

"In honor of Rouget de Lisle, author of the Marseillaise, the song that breathes the martial spirit of liberty, resurgent, indomitable, victorious, and in commemoration of the comradeship in arms of America with heroic France in the glorious year 1918, citizens of Milwaukee, United States of America, present this tablet to the happy city of Strasbourg"

Paul Thompson

THE SIGNING OF THE CONSTITUTION—A STRIKING SCENE IN A HISTORICAL PAGEANT

The Constitutional League of America celebrated the 133d anniversary of the signing of the United States Constitution by a pageant in New York City. One of the scenes depicted is shown above—George Washington, standing in front of table; Benjamin Franklin, seated at left; Elbridge Gerry, signing

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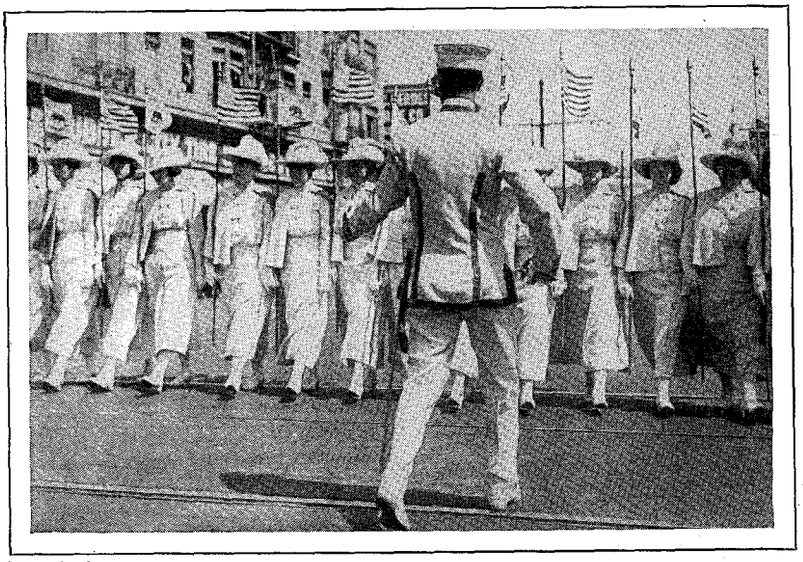

International

CALIFORNIA CELEBRATES ITS BIRTHDAY AS A STATE

California was admitted to the Union September 9, 1850. The seventieth anniversary of this event was celebrated with much enthusiasm. Twelve thousand native sons and daughters took part in a parade in San Francisco. The Native Daughters of the Golden West are seen in the picture as they passed through Market Street

(C) Keystone View Co.

"MAYFLOWER HALL" FOUNDATION STONE LAID AT PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND, BY LADY ASTOR

The sailing of the Pilgrims from Plymouth to America three centuries ago was commemorated by a week of celebrations in old Plymouth. One of the incidents is pictured above

LOST CHILDREN COMFORTED BY THE VOLUNTEER LIFE SAVING CORPS

On the crowded beaches at Coney Island and other seaside resorts children frequently become separated from their parents. One of the many duties of the U. S. Volunteer Life Saving Corps is to pick up and restore these lost ones. A kindly member of the Corps is here seen in the midst of a company of these children

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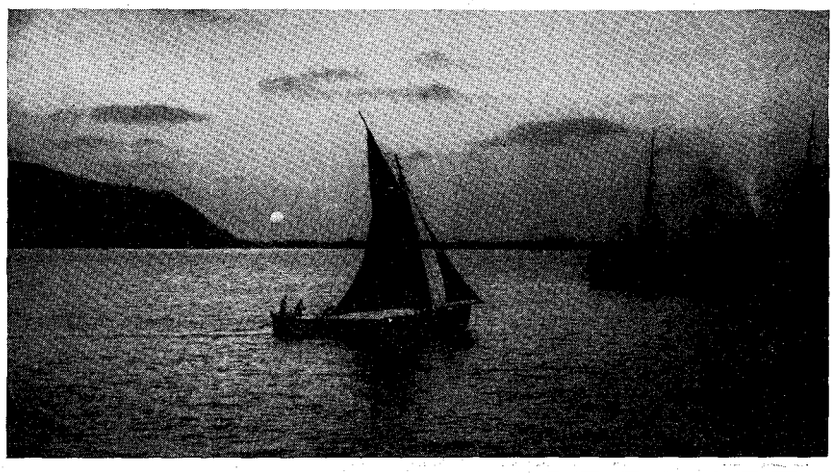
PICTURES FROM OUTLOOK READERS

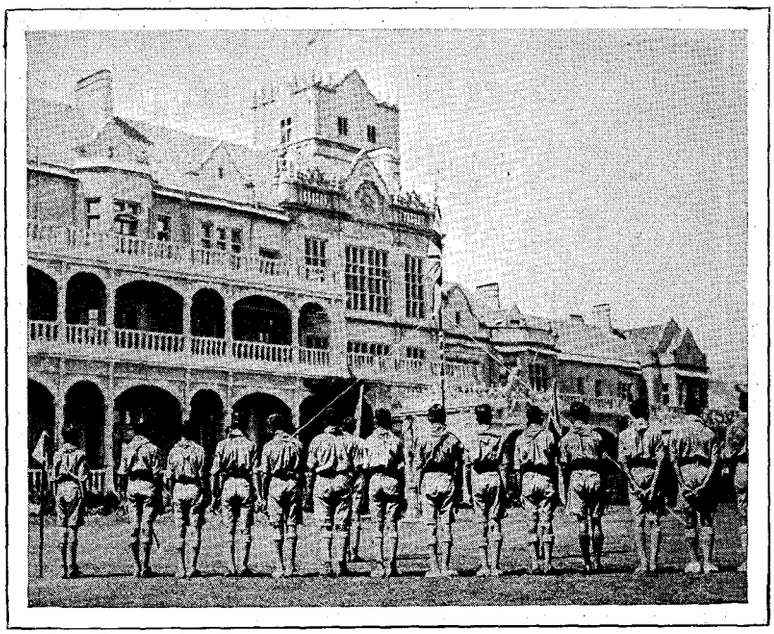
(See offer on page 211)



From L. Lind, American Colony, Jerusalem

MOUNT CARMEL AND THE BAY OF ACRE, FROM HAIFA

A splendid breakwater is now in course of construction in the bay, which will in all probability, says our informant, make Haifa the port of Jerusalem, instead of Jaffa (Joppa)



From Rev. H. R. Ferges. Dehra Don, India

INDIAN BOY SCOUTS BEING RECEIVED BY THE VICEROY OF INDIA

There are over 10,000 Boy Scouts in India to-day, our subscriber states. The boys in the picture are from the Mission School at Dehra Don, and are assembled for review in front of the Viceregal Lodge at Simla

From Harry Beardsley, Chicago, Illinois

GENERAL KALMYKOFF, HETMAN OF THE USSURI COSSACKS

Kalmykoff is the central figure in the group, in the Napoleonic pose. He was at one time an assistant of General Semenoff, of the All-Russian forces. He was a ruthless warrior of the Cossack type. He was recently captured and killed by Chinese soldiers in Manchuria, it is stated

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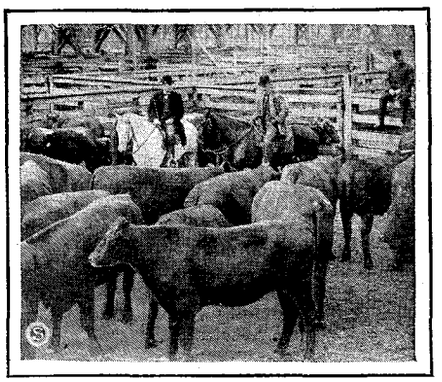
CLEARING THE JUNGLE

WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING IN PACKINGTOWN



BUYING CATTLE FOR THE PACKERS

BY

SHERMAN ROGERS

NEARLY fifteen years ago I read Upton Sinclair's sensational novel "The Jungle," and ever since that time I have been intensely interested in conditions existing in the Chicago stockyards. Mr. Sinclair's attitude was extremely hostile, although, I firmly believe, sincere. There is no doubt in my mind that sanitary conditions throughout the yards at the time "The Jungle" was written were, in many instances, as unfavorable as described by the author.

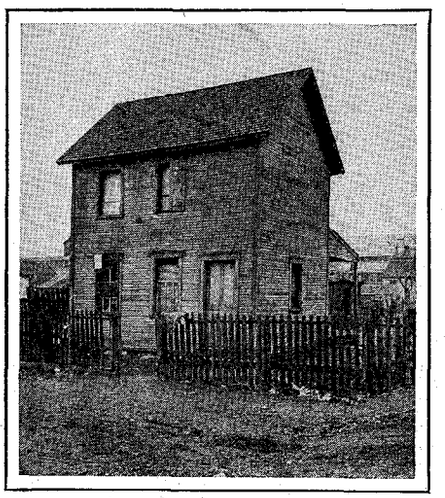
"The Jungle" left me with a feeling of animosity toward the packers. But when I undertook my first cursory investigation of the yards in the fall of 1919, I did so with the determination to be as fair as possible both to workers and packers. I found that great changes for the better had taken place since Upton Sinclair's attack. I found careful systems of inspection of all processes, and that none of the product comes in contact with unsanitary floors or receptacles. Public health is amply protected by careful and efficient handling of meat from the pens to the cooling-rooms.

But I did not find stockyard buildings to be models of construction so far as the worker is concerned. While working conditions have been vastly improved during the last few years, they cannot be on a par with conditions in model factories lately constructed, until the old stockyard buildings have been replaced with new ones.

All of the packing companies in Chicago are continually tearing down old buildings and constructing model substitutes. The new Armour plant in St. Paul has every conceivable modern convenience, and is on a par with any. To be fair to the packers, the sanitary conditions in the Chicago yards were infinitely better than I expected to find them. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America union leaders have very little objection to the present conditions in the yards, realizing that the packers are improving the sanitary conditions as rapidly as possible with the old buildings to deal with. Due to the limited space in the stockyards area, the packers can only tear down and rebuild in separate units that do not necessitate closing down entire departments. The labor leaders assured me that within the last few years the sanitary conditions throughout the yards had undergone such a radical change for the better that if a workman had left the plant three years ago and returned at the present time he would not be able to realize that he was in the same yards. The sanitary conditions are as favorable as possible under the circumstances.

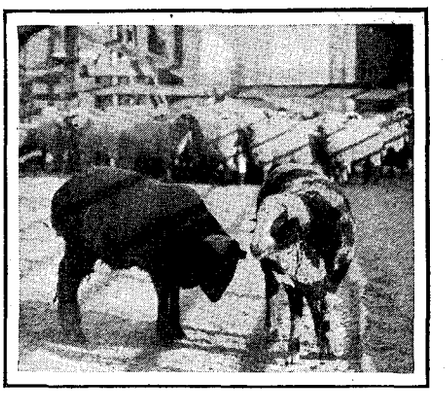
LABOR LEADERS NOW FRIENDLY

In writing the labor section of this article I want to state emphatically that I believe unqualifiedly in the honesty and integrity of both the executive leaders of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America—the labor organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor which controls a majority of the workers in the stockyards—and the executives of the packing institutions. Both factions desire better relations with a view to improving sanitary conditions and labor efficiency.



ONE OF THE OLD TYPE HOUSES THAT HAVE BEEN DISPLACED BY MODERN DWELLINGS IN THE STOCKYARD DISTRICT

Dennis Lane, John F. Hart, T. A. McCresh, and John T. Joyce, the labor leaders, impressed me as being cool, conservative, four-square men clean through. They were eminently fair in their remarks about the stockyards and their fficials, gave them the benefit of the doubt in all cases, and their entire demeanor manifested a total lack of narrow-minded prejudice.



DECOY SHEEP, TRAINED TO LEAD NEW ARRIVALS

These officials have built up an association that reflects great credit to their organizing ability and their loyalty to the country and to their own organizations. They have instilled a commendable spirit of fairness in the hearts and minds of the thousands of stockyard employees. They are diligently and conscientiously striving to build up confidence between the workers and the yard officials, which they earnestly believe will result in a still better understanding and ultimately eliminate militant strife.

I am just as favorably impressed with the stockyards management. Thomas Wilson, of Wilson & Company, is the leader of the packing industries of Chicago. A few years ago he took over the old Sulzberger & Sons plant, which was dilapidated and financially involved. He reorganized and rehabilitated the plant. He told me that the packers did not desire to hide a single part of their business from the public. He stated that the packers were themselves to blame for much of the general criticism by reason of their indifferent attitude toward the public. He declares that wages in the yards have been increased more in proportion than in any other large industry, and that sanitary conditions had been greatly improved. Mr. Wilson impressed me as being absolutely sincere. He is the most talked-of executive in the packing industry; and his progressive influence and warm-hearted interest in the employees of the packing industry will unquestionably lead to a closer understanding between office brain and workshop brawn.

Edward Morris, of Morris & Co.,

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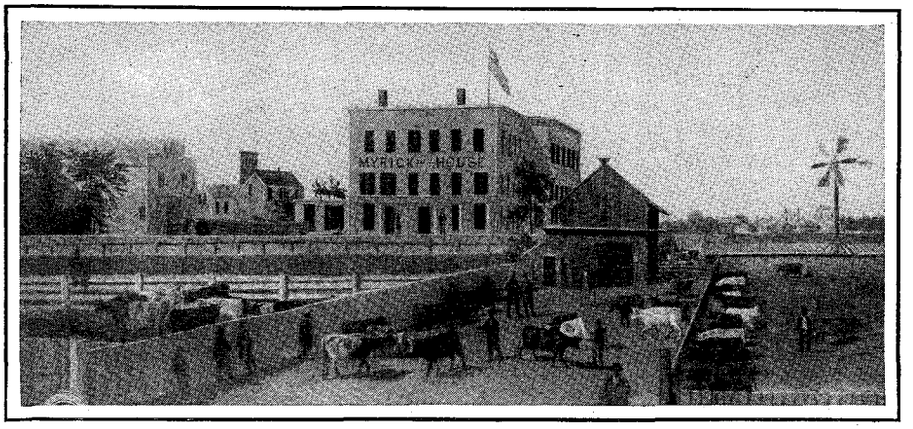


THE RESTRICTED AREA OF THE STOCKYARDS IN 1861

although only twenty-eight years old, is a level-headed, quiet, unassuming business man, with very progressive ideas of dealing with his workers.

A SAVING WAGE

Both J. Ogden Armour and Arthur Meeker, Vice-President and General Manager of Armour & Co., expressed the keenest desire that the public be fully informed regarding the packing industry; both believe whole-heartedly in bringing about a closer understanding with their employees. They emphatically state that the success of the packers depends on their employees enjoying satisfactory working conditions which will engender a spirit of co-operation, and wages sufficient to maintain American standards of living and to set aside a portion of their daily wage for the eve of life—in other words, a saving wage in place of a living wage.

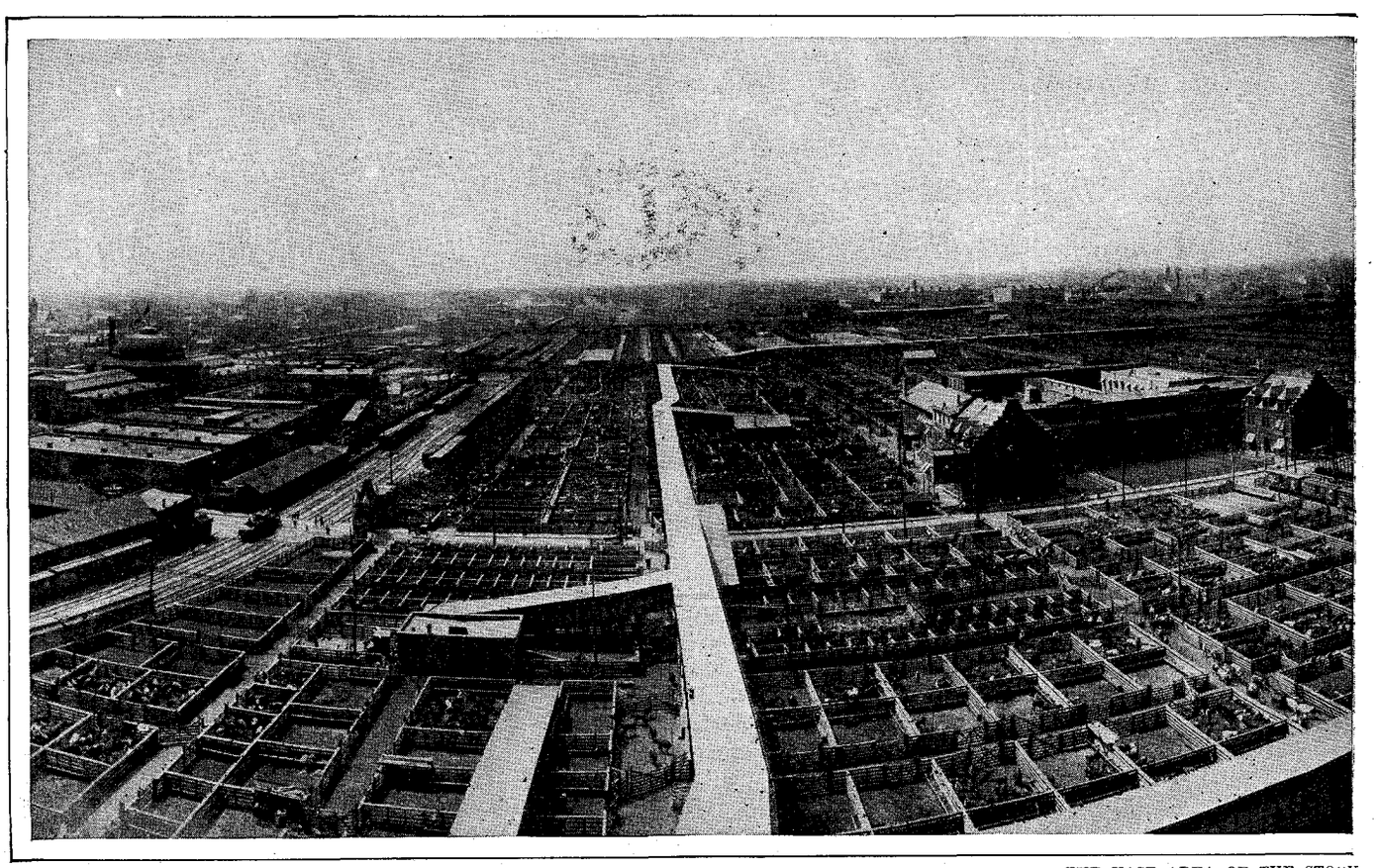
The writer has developed a strong personal regard for Lester Armour, grandson of the founder of Armour & Co. He is a clean-cut, earnest man of twenty-five, who spends a great deal of his time in looking after the workers. I don't believe there is an aristocratic hair in his head. He goes about the yards in an old hat, wanders around the killing floors, and unaffectedly greets the workers with "Hello, Tom," "Jack," or "Bill," and he doesn't do it to make an impression, either. He undoubtedly enjoys being down in the yards a whole lot more than being in the executive offices, and his handshake with the workers radiates genuine sincerity, and his hearty "Hello, Bill" rings true.

While going through the yards Mr. Armour turned to me and boyishly requested me to meet the "Jack of Spades." The introduction was given with all due solemnity, and the giant colored man who gripped my hand assured me that he was "very glad to make my acquaintance." He turned around and talked to the future head of Armour & Co. just as he would have conversed with any fellow-worker. In the killing-room, the dressing-rooms, and packing departments I noted with surprise that Mr. Armour knew by first name a remarkable number of employees.

During the wage arguments in Judge Alschuler's court Mr. Armour manifested the keenest interest in every statement made by the representative of the employees, and he assured me that his sympathies were with the workers. He is closer to the stockyards labor than any of the other stockyard owners in Chicago, and as his influence becomes greater in the management of Armour & Co. undoubtedly the stockyards employees will profit by that increased influence.

Louis Swift, president of Swift & Co., is an indefatigable worker, and through close co-operation with his brothers, Swift & Co. have revolutionized working conditions in their yards, and have taken progressive steps to bring about confidence and good will between the management and the employees. Gus Swift and Harold Swift are in intimate contact with the personal relations department.

I found the department heads very fair, and in practically every case they



THE VAST AREA OF THE STOCK-

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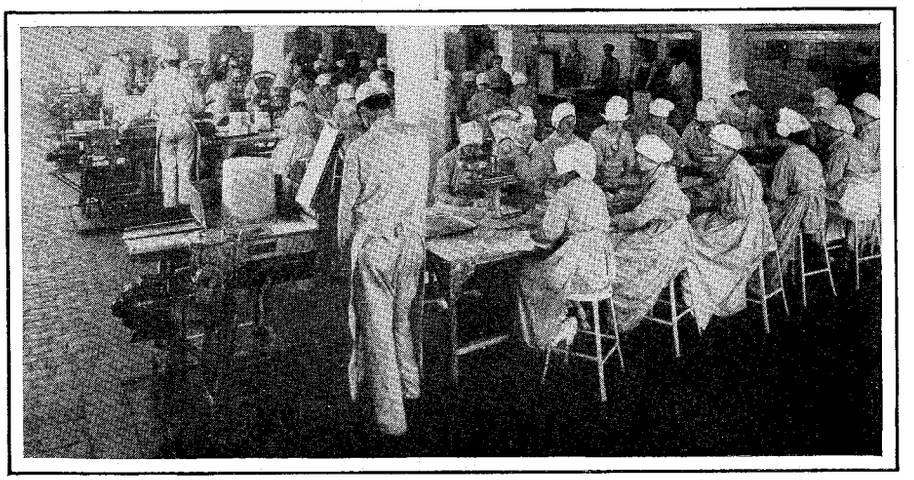
were sincerely desirous of improving labor conditions as rapidly as possible. I have only one criticism to make. Some of the industrial relations managers do not get close enough to the men on the job. I do not say that applies to all of the yards; but in one case I found that the Industrial Relations Manager was as far away from the men in his organization as he would be if his main office was in Singapore.

When it comes to individual efficiency in handling industrial and welfare relations in the yards, Mrs. Ann Kadlec, of Morris & Co., stands out in bold relief. She speaks several languages, is thoroughly familiar with conditions throughout the works, has the confidence of all workers and officials, and has the knack of understanding the minute requirements of the workers throughout the Morris plant, from the standpoints both of sanitation and wage adjustments. She is, without doubt, one of the most efficient employment directors in Chicago.



PACKING OLEOMARGARINE IN CARTONS UNDER CONDITIONS AS CLEAN AND WHOLESOME AS ANY HOUSEWIFE'S KITCHEN

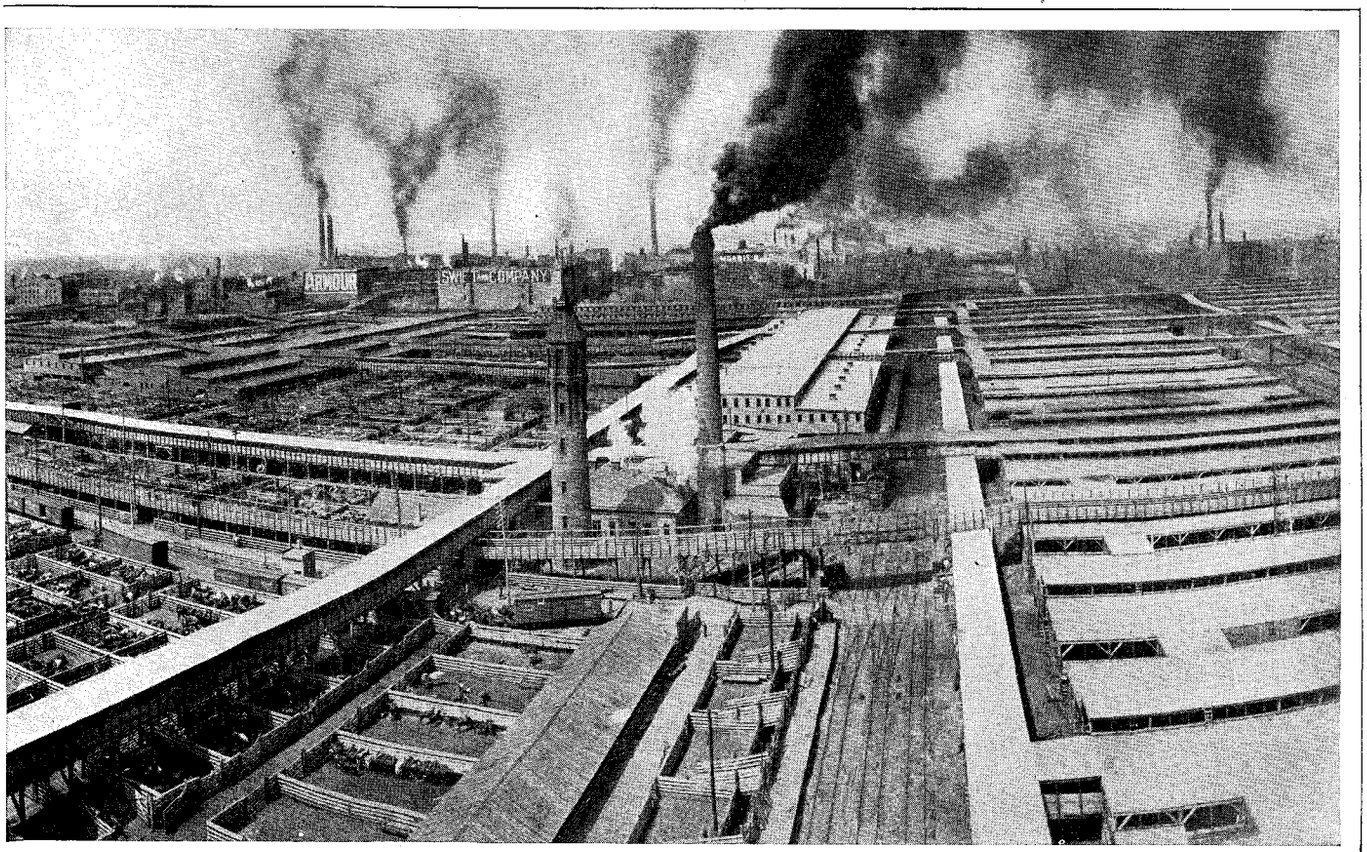
MINIMUM WAGE TOO LOW?

I do not believe that the minimum wage of the stockyards is sufficient to meet current expenditures of households and permit laying aside funds to pay for a home. It is quite true that the minimum wage in the stockyards is on a par with most of the common labor schedules in other plants. However, as a rule, the minimum wage in the average establishment seldom applies to over fifteen per cent of the total employed, whereas the stockyards' minimum applies to sixty-five per cent of the employees throughout the yards. I do not believe I have ever visited an industrial district with a greater percentage of large families. The entire stockyards district swarms with children. For this reason alone I think that the stockyards should effect a minimum wage increase so long as the present high cost of living continues. The increase of one-sixteenth of a cent a pound in the price of all meats would allow a substantial increase in the wages of the common laborer. It is quite true that fifty-three cents an hour on an eight-hour schedule is a living wage, but it is not a saving wage, and I feel that any wage scale is a mistake that does not permit the worker to live according to American standards and ultimately own his home.

It is charged that stockyard employees revel in silk shirts, patent leather shoes, and diamond rings. If there is a silk shirt in the stockyards I failed to find it, and my eyes were not blinded south of Packingtown by silk stockings and patent leather shoes. Such light-headed aspersions are malicious slanders of stockyard employees. A family of four or five, living on $4.24, can squander but little of its substance on high living.

168% WAGE INCREASE

When the war broke out, a Federal conciliator was appointed—Judge Alschuler, of the United States Federal Court, whose wage decisions were absolutely binding on both the packers and workers. This arrangement has tended



YARDS AT THE PRESENT TIME

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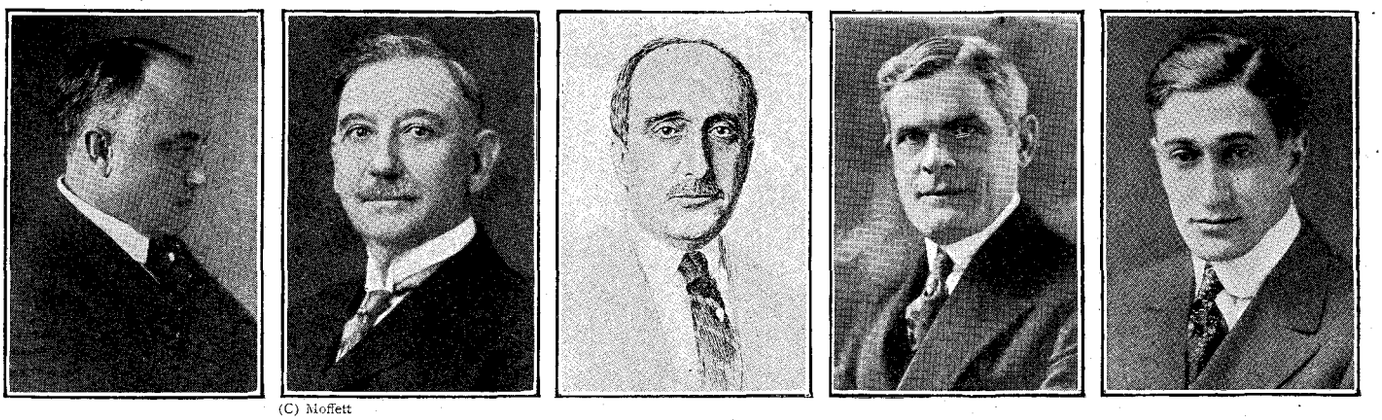

(C) Moffett

LOUIS SWIFT E. A. CUDAHY J. OGDEN ARMOUR THOMAS WILSON EDWARD MORRIS

LEADERS IN THE PACKING INDUSTRY

to stabilize and standardize wages throughout all packing establishments in the country, and I believe that the conciliator's decisions on wage adjustments have been fair.

Wages since 1914 have increased 168% on an average throughout the yards, which, according to the Government Statistical Bureau, is larger than the increase in the cost of living.

The packers have accepted the decisions of Judge Alschuler in every case as being fair, and I think the labor union officials concede that the Judge has rendered the most favorable decisions possible, consistent with his responsibilities towards employees, packers, and consumers.

I am thoroughly convinced of the truth of my conclusion that the Chicago packers, in the past year or two, have had a tremendous awakening regarding their feelings toward the stockyards workmen. This is not a surmise. I had a long talk with the superintendents and general managers of the yards a year ago, and the attitude of the same men at the present time is as different as daylight from dark compared with a year ago The sincere efforts of the stockyards executives will add greatly to the present and future welfare of employees, sanitary conditions, education, and wages.

In years past, Packingtown was considered one of the most unwholesome places in Chicago to bring up children. There was no co-ordinate movement for the betterment of conditions. But on October 1, 1917, the Chicago packers formed a community clearing-house. It made a careful survey of conditions. A bureau was established to investigate conditions with a view to rectify unfavorable conditions. It provided means of intercommunication between the industrial, civic, social, and religious organizations of the community; and means of co-operative relief efforts in times of crisis. It established playgrounds, athletic activities, and educational features.

The plan has worked wonderfully. Juvenile delinquency has decreased to a remarkable degree. Social conditions throughout Packingtown are infinitely better than before the plan was inaugurated. It is not a charity dispensing agency; simply a concerted movement to better conditions in the homes.

During the late influenza scourge, within a week 8,000 meals were supplied to stricken families, and the clearing-house became an indispensable agency.

Swift & Co. have inaugurated an advanced system of training foremen. This department is in charge of John Calder, an experienced educator. During the past year over 3,200 foremen have taken up this training.

Coffee stations have been placed throughout for the convenience of workers who bring their lunches. Swift & Co. have a large cafeteria in excellent sanitary condition and well-lighted, where men may obtain a very palatable luncheon for twenty-four cents.

All the yards have an adequate pension fund and sick benefit system for their employees. Well-regulated boys' continuation schools are maintained at the expense of the individual companies for boys employed in their offices.

To summarize present-day stockyards conditions, there is no doubt that a new spirit permeates the entire industry—a spirit that will eliminate most of the ill feeling based on past aloofness of stockyards managers and suspicion of union leaders. I feel that in years gone by there was too marked an attitude on the part of the packers to be always on the defensive with their employees instead of meeting them with a spirit of confidence and friendliness. The packers and union officials have made such remarkable strides in the direction of mutual understanding in the past six months that it is fair to assume the stockyards will soon become one of the most favorable places in the country for a man to work in. Both management and labor realize that the packing industry has entered into a new era which imbues labor with the same spirit of good will that the managements have always manifested toward the consumer.

Keep Meats Clean

Any employee getting meats dirty by using dirty trucks or tools, dropping meats on the floor, or careless handling, will be discharged.

SWIFT & COMPANY.

A TYPICAL REMINDER OF THE NEED FOR CLEANLINESS IN THE FOOD INDUSTRY

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PLAIN GLASS

BY ELEANOR JANE LITTLE

PROLOGUE

DEBORAH was very small when she first noticed her window. She was sitting on a cricket in the bottom of the long family box-pew, her head resting upon the decent black silk of her grandmother's Sunday dress, when suddenly she saw a sparrow fly across the panes of one of the windows in the gallery. Presently it returned; another joined it; it went off again. Deborah sat entranced, for even a four-year-old can guess at the presence of a nest. She told her older brother about it on the way home, and all the remaining Sundays of the summer the two watched the peregrinations of the little family.

So it became her favorite window, through which, after the sparrows departed, she saw the clouds sail past, or rain squalls beat down, or the wide, empty azure of the sunlit sky. It seemed only natural, when at a later age she was reading "The Talisman," to apply to her own secret interest the symbolism of the Hermit in the tale: "Know that I am like the latticed window, and the divine light passes through to avail others. . . . Thou art like the iron stanchions, which neither receive light themselves, nor communicate it to any one." If the latter part of the passage struck her at all, she probably thought it referred to the divisional lines supporting the panes; but out of the first sentence she evolved a delight in clarity and vision which colored her whole after life.

When she came back from school or college, when she entered the church after a week of humdrum affairs and worries, she always looked to her window for inspiration and guidance. From what she discerned there her spirit never failed to recreate its happiness and faith. Others would have seen only a glass that looked on nothingness; to her it became heaven beyond a transparent screen.

LIGHT

ON his third day at the hospital Darnley was fully conscious once more. The anæsthetics and pain of the two preceding days had left him with little recollection of the place or people, yet as his eye lighted upon the trim figure of a girl coming down the ward he had an idea that he had seen her before. She stopped beside him, smiling.

"Well, brother," she said. "it goes better to-day, doesn't it?"

He acquiesced feebly, adding that he hoped he hadn't made himself a nuisance when he had felt worse.

She untucked the bedclothes with a skillful hand and proceeded to replace them, smoothly and with swiftness. "Oh, never," she said, cheerily, as she worked. "Very few of you laddies do. Most of you act as if we were doing you a favor to hurt you with the dressings."

He managed to affirm, "You see, it's better than the trenches," and then asked, closing his eyes from exhaustion, "Are you Scotch?"

As she did not disturb him by replying, but left him quietly for the man at his right hand, he dropped asleep.

The next morning, however, he was awake when the girl arrived and feeling much stronger. While she worked about him he noted with pleasure, almost with wonder, her neat uniform and cap, her bright coloring and gay blue eyes. It had been so long since he had seen a girl—at least a girl who was a lady. He had forgotten how beautiful they were, how deft, how indescribably different from all that had made up his man's world. He did not know that the bright smile with which she regarded him was to cover the pity welling up in her as she saw the wonder and amazement of his discovery grow in his expression.

Presently she spoke, apparently at random. "Of course I'm not Scotch. I'm an American."

He remembered. "But you called us 'laddies.'"

"*Ah! oui.* So I did. Working with you Tommies has corrupted my speech, I suppose," she answered.

He smiled—his first—although he could not guess how her heart would rejoice at it. "I'm not a Tommy," he said. "I'm a Canadian."

"That's pleasant. Welcome to our hospital, my step-countryman," she replied, as she helped him to a drink of water before leaving him for the next man.

Later he noticed her much about the ward, and sometimes had a trivial word with her. That is, it was trivial in context and meaning, but endlessly significant to Darnley in the fact that she had spoken to him. She seemed to be forever at the beck and call of others besides the patients; the doctors, sisters, even orderlies, sent her hither and yon, yet she was always gentle, always compliant. When he had a chance, he asked her why her uniform differed from that of the other sisters.

"You see, they are real nurses," she explained. "I'm only a V. A. D."

"Only the real thing," he objected, smiling.

"Ah," she said, "that was prettily phrased. Thank you."

Their conversations were necessarily brief, but they could always be continued. He learned to watch for her, and for her every movement. He also learned that all the men within his range watched for her and tried to talk to her. He listened shamelessly to her conversations with them, and marveled at the ease with which she could leap from talking Socialism with an almost convalescent iron-molder to the gayest of slangy badinage with a man who had in former days played a piano in a music hall. As the week drew on, and he gained strength, his interest in and curiosity about her grew more compelling, until, although long habit and training made it difficult for him to question her directly, he picked up a good deal of information from those around him who were less scrupulous.

The pianist told him that her name was Lee, that she was a lady, and that she was a "rare 'un for nonsense. A man couldn' get the best o' her in talk." He liked her; she wasn't one of these dead-and-alive ones, but kept a man tuned up. From the iron-molder he gathered that she had a clear head, but the prejudices of her class. That she was a hard and conscientious worker; must have had a good education, she was so unhandy to meet in argument; but, like most women, had a sentimental streak.

"What makes you think that?" Darnley demanded, with surprise and some heat.

"Because she's struck on religion," was the answer.

IT silenced Darnley. He himself had no sympathy with anything that did not directly affect humanity, and in early manhood had undergone the natural revolt which a generous-minded boy often experiences who has been brought up in the letter of a very orthodox law. Having come to feel that God touched men only to their undoing, he had hated him and all forms of the organization which claimed to serve him; but the war had destroyed this primitive feeling by annihilating his belief in any God at all. It was not a thing that he discussed much. He had simply lost interest in it, as in something that no longer affected the vital forces of the world.

Nevertheless the next time that he had a chance he said to her, "I hear that you are very religious, Sister."

"Depends on how you define 'religious,'" she answered briskly, and departed, leaving him with a sense that somehow she had got the better of him.

Another opportunity offered, however, while she was cleaning around his

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bed the next morning. "Isn't religious almost a synonym for superstitious?" he asked then, half expecting a flare of indignation in reply.

Instead, after a moment's consideration, she said, "Perhaps."

"But are you superstitious?"

"Of course I don't think so, but—perhaps. At any rate," she concluded, smiling, "it's a superstition I can't get along without."

"Nonsense. You seem to be as much the 'captain of your soul' as any one I ever saw," objected Darnley, who had watched her assisting the previous day in a dressing so horrible that the memory of it made him sick.

She looked at him oddly, and demanded, as if with good-natured scorn, "How old are you?"

"Thirty. Why?"

"Well, by the time you're thirty-one perhaps you'll have learned that Henley's poem is perfectly compatible with a belief in God. One doesn't have to *know;* one believes. Or rather, one begins by believing and ends with knowledge."

"Same old poppycock," thought Darnley, though he said nothing.

Later she brought up the subject. "I'm sorry I began to argue yesterday," she said. "A long time ago I learned that one person's proofs of God can't convince any one else. Everybody has to have their own, or go without him."

"Don't apologize," Darnley returned. "It gives me something to think about, wondering why an intelligent girl like yourself thinks in such circuitous fashion."

"It's the easiest thing I do. And, anyway, who told you I was intelligent?"

"Nobody; I found it all out by myself; just as I know that you are kind and good and sweet."

She had been bending over him to perform some little office, but as he finished she straightened, regarding him with the gayest look he had had from her yet. Her eyes fairly gleamed with mischief. "'"Your words in your teeth," said she,'" she misquoted. "*You* reason *most* circuitously. You have no proof of any of those things, but you believe them, and so have come to 'know them.'"

"Oh, but haven't I proofs? You are kind because of all the extra things you do for us, and the way you do them."

("A vain woman will take terrific pains to win applause and liking," she interpolated, laughing.)

"And you're good, or you'd never be doing this job at all."

("Don't hysterical women ever do amazing things because they crave excitement?")

"And sweet because—" Suddenly Darnley came to a full stop, as with a leap of the heart he realized how and why she was sweet, and what her sweetness meant to him. He had known her only two weeks and could hardly say: "The curve of your lips is sweet, and so is the line from ear to chin when you turn your head. Your voice is sweet as music in the twilight; your smile, your sympathy, your strong, gentle hands, all are sweeter to me than life, or even rest from pain." No, he could not say it, although it was true.

She bent over him as if to lift him higher on the pillows, whispering: "Heavens! there's Matron! She'll kill me for loitering; but, anyway, I notice that you haven't a bit of support for that last." Then she fled.

DARNLEY was glad to have her go. At first the violence of this new realization confounded him. It was so surprising, so out of keeping with his character as he had always understood it, so ridiculous—like the silly jokes in "Tit-Bits" and "Punch"—to go off his head about a girl, just because he was wounded. "He would combat the thing; it couldn't last. By Jove, he wouldn't have it!" At the moment of reaching this conclusion she passed carrying a tray of dressings, stumbled, dropped the tray, and said, "Damn!" audibly. The ward grinned as one man, and faint murmurs of "Naughty!" "Oh, fie! you shouldn't," sounded from all sides. Darnley's heart contracted as if in a vise. For the rest of the day it was easier to plan how to save her such needless trouble than how to forget her.

Not long afterwards he asked if he might call her Miss Lee. She assented, with a little hesitation—provided he did it so as not to attract attention.

"What's your first name?" he pursued, boldly.

Again she hesitated; then, "Deborah. What's yours?"

"Roger," he answered. "I wish you'd call me that."

"I couldn't," she said quickly, adding, as though fearful she had hurt him, "You're too much of a gentleman for me to be so familiar."

"What's that got to do with it?" he urged. "Aren't you a lady?"

"Not after the way I swore the other day," she said, laughing.

"I admit that wasn't very religious. You must be falling off."

She shook her head with a sigh. "Wish I were a Catholic, to do penance and be absolved. As it is—" She spread out her hands in a humorous little gesture of contrition.

"Never mind," said Darnley, amused; "if you've repented, perhaps your God will forgive you."

"Surely," she answered. "He doesn't expect much of me. Except to 'do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with my God,'" she added under her breath.

He lay quiet, regarding her with a measure of humility new to his experience, for he was a man used to analyzing people in a way that seldom accentuated their better qualities. The iron-molder had long since been evacuated, and in his bed lay a Scotch tanner, a huge man who had lost a leg. He was a great favorite of Deborah's, Darnley had discovered, and as she worked over him she chatted brightly with him. Presently, in a lull, Darnley interposed:

"I wish you'd tell us something about yourself."

She considered. "What would you like to know?"

"Oh, anything. About your home."

Her eyes lighted. "Better not start me on that subject. I could talk forever about it, and Jock would get bored."

"Talk on, Sister," said Jock. "The soun' o' yer voice takes ma mind awa' frae this."

She smiled tenderly at him as her fingers flew. "Well," she said, "I live in an old seaport town down in Maine. It's one of those towns that have a 'best street' upon a hill, with big square white houses, and a big square white church. The church spire is a mark for miles out at sea. At the foot of the hill is the green, with the town-house, court-house, some shops, and a stone church. Beyond the green is a street of warehouses and shops, and the wharves and the harbor. There, Jock, dressing's over for to-day."

The big man grunted with relief, and she left him to rest a while. When she came back to make his bed and clear up, Darnley begged her to go on.

"The rest of the town is rather ordinary, I suppose—a few hither-and-thither streets, a few schoolhouses, another stone church and a brick one; but—"

"I'll bet a German helmet," Darnley interrupted, "that I can guess which church you go to."

"Why?" she asked. "Which one?"

"The white one on the hill, of course. I don't know, except that somehow it sounds—oh! well ventilated."

Her laughter, instantly checked, rang for a second through the ward. "I've been called almost everything in my time," she retorted, "but that is new. Whee! I must write it to father. He'll howl. You're right, you know. That is my church, and every wind of heaven does blow through it. It has—let's see—twenty-eight windows and five doors. There is one window in the gallery, my own particular window. Wish I could see it now!"

"What's it like?"

"Plain glass. Like the others, but it looks on the sky. You can see the clouds through it, or the sun pours in." She paused, and her eyes grew wistful. After a moment she asked, "Did you ever see visions, Jock?"

"Ah've known them that hae," he answered, cautiously.

"Yes," she said, sighing, "they seem

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far enough away at times from ourselves."

As she did not continue, Darnley inquired how she happened to come to France.

"I had had two years' training in nursing," she answered, promptly, "and wasn't needed at home, so it seemed the only thing to do."

"Some girls would have been afraid."

"Oh! I was scared enough. Why, I'm frightened most of the time."

"Really? Then why did you risk it, and so near the front?"

"There you are again. For one thing, I'm too busy to think much; and for another, I've something behind me to help me out. How do you stick it when you're afraid?"

"I don't know. A man ought to manage things like that himself."

To his surprise she flushed deeply. Then, as she gathered up her basin and cloths, she said: "Some people are strong in some directions, and others in other ways. You haven't met your comeuppance yet, but most people have one. If you are able to control cowardice, it doesn't necessarily follow that you can conquer every emotion without help."

She was turning away, but he took hold of her apron. "Miss Lee," he said, "I am so ashamed. Forgive me. I did not mean to boast, nor to compare myself with you."

For a short space she was silent. Finally she said, gently: "Let me go, Mr. Darnley. I am sure you did not mean to hurt me. I wish—I hope that if you ever do have any trial you cannot bear you'll find some power to help you out of it."

"If ever I do," he answered, emphatically, "I shall call on you for aid."

"It might be something, though, where I couldn't be of use to you," she replied. "Mercy! let me go! Here comes that old Tartar of a Dr. Morgan."

THE days came and went, with few changes to mark their passage. Darnley gained evenly in strength, until he was sitting up most of the time. Gradually he won the reluctant Deborah to call him Roger; but she did not suggest that he use her name, and he dared not risk her displeasure by doing so. One morning she came to him with a gayety which did not ring as true as usual. "Greeting, Roger," she hailed, "and good news. What do you think? You're going to be evacuated to Blighty to-night."

"What?" he gasped.

She nodded. "Pretty nice, isn't it? But you ought to have gone before. You're not sick enough for us. They'd have sent you two weeks ago if there had been a drive on."

"Are you glad?"

"Oh, I shall miss you. You know that; don't you? You've been a good patient."

"Deborah," he said, fiercely, "haven't I been more to you than that?"

She smiled tremulously. "Yes; a bully good friend."

"No," he contradicted; "more than that. You know—you must know how I've grown to love you. I can't ask you now to love me, but after I am well I am coming back to win you if I can."

"You're not the first man to tell me that," she answered in a brave attempt to carry off the situation lightly, "and none of them ever came; so I won't feel hurt if you don't."

"Deborah, look at me. You know I'll come if all goes well, don't you?"

"Yes," she said, faintly.

"And will you be kind to me?" he pleaded, growing bolder as he thought of the coming separation.

She would not answer; but that night she came back after her turn of duty to say good-by, and before she left promised to write often while he was away.

AFTER all, the time sped quickly for both. She did write, and so did Roger. Moreover, he convalesced rapidly, with the hope of seeing her soon again as a stimulant. Because he was not an ordinary Canadian private, but had powerful connections, he was fortunate enough to get a pass to the town near the old hospital for the last three days of his sick-leave. They were very lucky. Deborah had written him a week previously that she had been put on night duty, and she could see him all the afternoons. Their meeting was almost incredible to him in its sweetness; and, if he could judge by the simplicity and completeness of her coming to him, she felt it so also. Since he was returning to the trenches almost at once, he thought that to ask for an engagement was wrong, but she would have it no other way. "If you are killed," she said, "I want to know that you died all mine." Feeling her shuddering against him, Roger understood as never before the passion and dread of a woman in time of war. He himself could scarcely regret it, since it was the war which had brought her to him. As he held her in his arms while they said good-night, at the close of their second afternoon, she whispered, "One more day. Darling, it terrifies me so."

He tightened his hold. "Can't you pray?"

"Oh, I do. It's all right for me, but for you I stay frightened still."

There was no consolation to offer, so he only kissed her, but at the moment life seemed too rich in promise for him to entertain the thought of his chance of death.

That night he was very tired, after walking back to town, and slept so heavily that he did not hear the bugles nor the bombs. At daylight he was awakened by a man whom he recognized as one of the doctors at the hospital, shaking him.

"What's up?" he asked.

"Tumble up, quickly," answered the other. "Miss Lee—"

"What about her?" interrupted Roger, but already he knew. The words "raid" and "bomb on the surgical side" scarcely told him anything. The room whirled around him; then he was out on the road. The road seemed to flow from under his feet, but he was nearing the hospital. This infernal doctor was still talking (at the time he could not take it in, but afterward he remembered). "She was marvelous. Just lay there bleeding, and directing the removal of the men. Wouldn't let them touch her until every one was out."

"And she said she was afraid!" groaned Darnley. "Will she die?"

"I'm sorry," said the doctor, simply. "There isn't a chance."

"Shall we be in time?"

"We may."

They were. As Roger dropped on his knees beside the cot where she was lying she turned her bandaged head to him. "Roger," she whispered, "all clear glass—and sunlight."

She was buried with the other victims of the raid that afternoon. All day Roger's agony had mounted until he felt as if something must break. Humanity could not endure such anguish. But as the bugle rang out in "Last Post," relief came. His eyes fell on a fragment of common glass which, lying in the mud, was reflecting a bit of the winter sky. Recollection flooded over him; a ring of fire slipped from his head, and tears stung his eyelids as he cried in his heart, "O Lord, help me! My God!"

EPILOGUE

THE war is long since ended. Peace in our latter day broods over the land where Roger Darnley, as well as Deborah, died gloriously. But in the windy church of her childhood, if one enter for the morning service, a memorial, planned and executed for her lover before his death, is oddly brought to the observer's attention. Supposing the day to be sunny, one notices a spray of broken colors moving gradually across the white pulpit, and traces them (if one be curious) to a window in the gallery, the panes of which appear to be of clear but unusually faceted glass. The old sexton, or any member of the congregation, will explain them. They are plates beautifully cut with this inscription: "In Loving and Devoted Memory of Deborah Cariston Lee, Through whose Spirit, as Through this Window, the Light of God Shone upon all Beholders."

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WILSON'S FOREIGN POLICIES

FROM OPPOSITE SIDES

I—A DEFENSE OF PRESIDENT WILSON

BY WAYNE C. WILLIAMS

OF COLORADO

I COULD never understand why there is so much partisan bitterness in the judgment of the average American citizen toward the leaders and statesmen in opposite political parties. If a man love Wilson, shall he hate Roosevelt? If he admire Roosevelt or Taft, shall he despise Bryan? On the contrary, it seems to me that every American citizen, and especially the young men of our country, can find many fine things in the life, character, and principles of Wilson, Bryan, Roosevelt, Taft, and Hughes to admire and to follow. I doubt if any Democrat has more admiration for a public leader than I entertain for William J. Bryan. Every lawyer must recognize the great services and abilities of William H. Taft. Every citizen must admire his big generous nature, his fairness toward a foe. Every American can find something in the character and life of Theodore Roosevelt to love and to emulate. It seems to me that no American who loves the wilderness, or hunting, or any form of outdoor activity, or books, or any of the worth-while things of life, could fail to find a real kinship with Theodore Roosevelt. Never has America known such another and such an attractive personality. No other man ever inspired such loyalty as did this lion-hearted leader. I was a young man when Roosevelt went into the White House, and never gave greater admiration to a President than I gave to this strenuous, many-sided man. I made it a point never to miss anything that he wrote or said. I consider him the most remarkable "group of men" I ever knew.

But each man must be measured by his own standard, his own type of personality, and by the circumstances and events which molded his character. In my judgment, Woodrow Wilson is one of the few men whom history has chosen for her own. Destiny has fixed a high place for him. He is in the charmed circle where but few men can ever enter and where names are imperishable. These are strong statements, but I am trying to make them with historical perspective. I am sensible to all the difficulties of contemporaneous judgment. The mistakes that have been made in the past are among the ludicrous phases of history. I know how difficult it is to acquire a real historical perspective when we are in the very midst of critical and tragic events and when clear thinking is so extremely difficult. Yet notwithstanding the difficulties of judgment, especially in a time of world crisis such as we have just passed through, I firmly believe that Woodrow Wilson will prove to be one of the very greatest of all our Presidents and of all the men of all time.

There is not space to give all the reasons why I believe Woodrow Wilson was the man of the hour and the man of destiny in the great war whose echoes are now dying away on the fields of Europe. I include here, however, these brief reasons why I believe Woodrow Wilson is entitled to a praise which the American people are now loth to give him.

History must confirm the American people's choice of Wilson in 1916 and his conduct of the war and of the issues raised by the war, for the following reasons:

First, for nobly and courageously withholding America's entrance into the war until—

(*a*) No reason longer remained for a Christian nation to further decline to take up arms and settle by force the issues involved.

(*b*) Until German policy blundered and gave us a direct cause for going in.

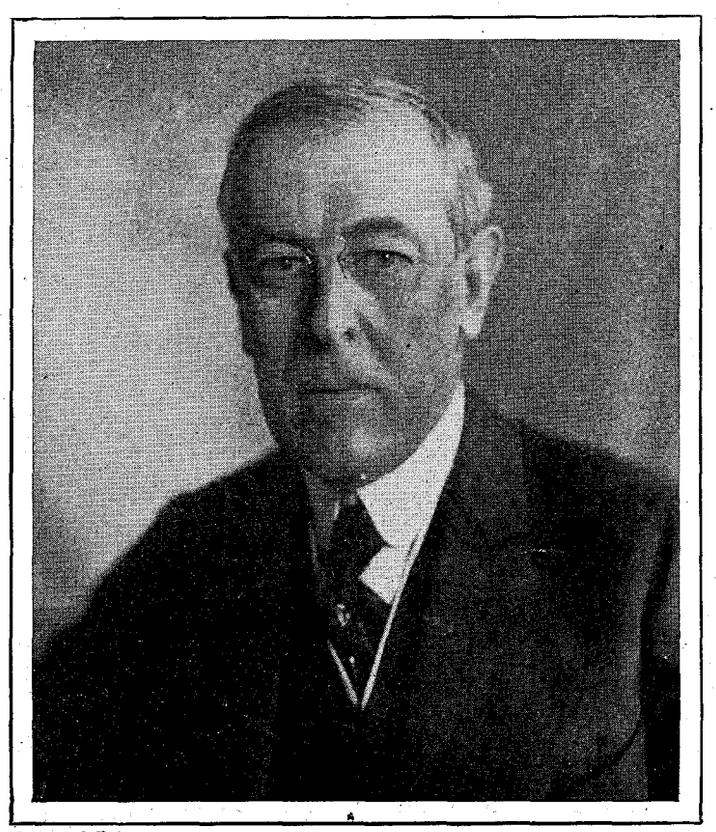
(*c*) Until the President had behind him, and led into the war, a united America.

Second, for a noble and historic declaration of America's unselfish aims, a declaration that rang throughout the world and must be written on the pages of history as one of the great state papers of all time.

Third, for giving expression to America's ideals and purposes during the conduct of the war which inspired our soldiers and our brave allies; and for a terrific indictment of German ideals, motives, and policies which aroused the conscience of the world as nothing else has done.

Fourth, for wise conduct and broad, efficient execution of the work and issues of the war itself. I refer not only to his instructions to Sims and Pershing and his choice of these men, but I refer to many decisions any one of which might have been a serious blunder.

Fifth, for the most remarkable international debate with the German war leaders that was ever carried on between nations; a debate with the world as a forum, with every nation and people looking on, listening, reading, and deciding the issues; a debate



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WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AUTHOR OF THE FOURTEEN POINTS, CHIEF PROTAGONIST OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, AND ORIGINATOR OF THE FOREIGN POLICIES TO WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND ITS CANDIDATE, MR. COX, ARE COMMITTED

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which, in my judgment, did more to hasten the termination of the war, to destroy the morale of the German armies and people, and to break the power of the German military machine than any other single force involved in the conflict.

Sixth, for his work at the Peace Conference in Paris in evolving and fashioning a League of Nations which gave for the first time in history a substantial, concrete expression to the hopes of nations for a federation of the world and which gave to that federation a legal force and sanction which (if America participates) may, and probably will, prove to be the turning-point in the history of civilization and the substitution of reason and law for force and war.

I have not dwelt upon Wilson's declarations for self-determination, which, like "deep calling unto deep," roused the slumbering populations of the world, nor upon many other things which might be mentioned. But I count the above as paramount.

II—HARDING'S ALL-AMERICAN PLAN

BY R. W. MONTAGUE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

SOME sort of an understanding, arrangement, alliance, or league with the principal European nations for the purpose of promoting peace I consider essential to the honor of this country and to the welfare of the world. With Harding in the White House there is, I believe, more probability of getting a successful solution of a question which I regard as of so much importance than there is with Cox.

Cox in his speeches declares he is for the League with reservations. This implies that the League as prepared by Wilson either should not or cannot be passed; it does not matter which. On the subject of reservations Cox is remarkably vague, and the Wilson League of Nations with reservations, without knowing what the reservations are to be, is meaningless, and we are compelled to turn to events for anything like a definition of them.

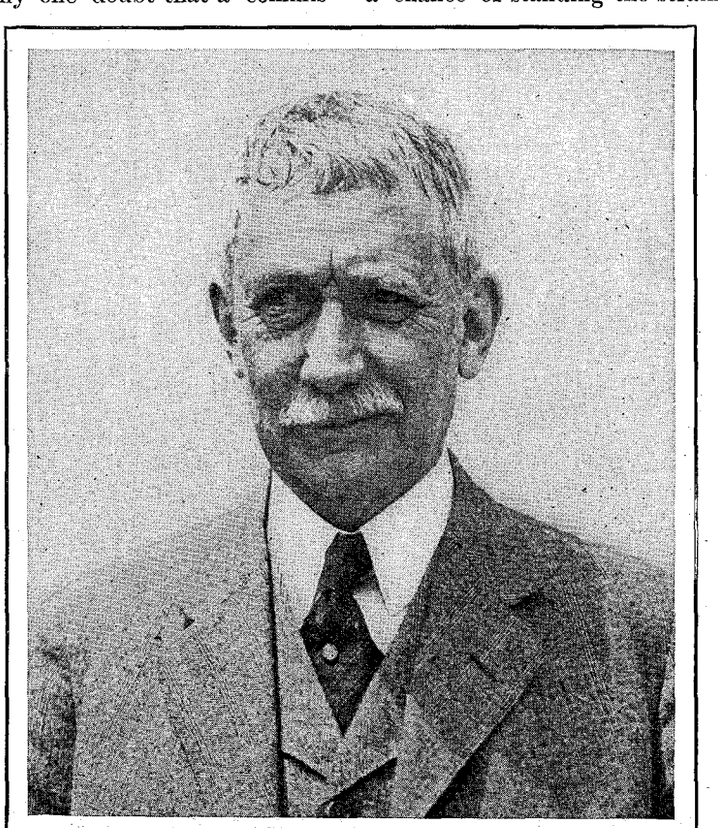
It is plain that neither party will have the necessary two-thirds of the Senate which would enable it with the President to pass any League it pleased. It is plain, too, that the group of "irreconcilables" can defeat the Wilson League without amendments. After the long debate in the Senate, the best that the friends of the League could get was the Lodge reservations, which the President rejected and the Democrats reject in their platform. Cox, if elected, cannot stultify himself by accepting them. So the result of Cox's election must, in my opinion, be another long and deplorable wrangle in the Senate, which would end in another deadlock. Then the League would be dead indeed; not only the body with which Wilson clothed it but the spirit which it tried to embody.

Is not Cox perilously near the old and time-worn position of promising something that sounds attractive which it is impossible to perform?

Where Cox is vague Harding is specific. While Cox implies that the League, meaning the Wilson League, is dead, Harding definitely says, in effect—I shall quote his exact words presently: While we know that the League in its present form is dead, the spirit behind the League is by no means dead. Let us try, therefore, to get together, let us try to do our part for a suffering world by the only means by which it can be taken out of politics. Let us so arrange matters that neither party can claim with truth the credit for this great result. I shall try to attain this end through a commission made up of the best minds in the country, irrespective of party, who will, if possible, prepare a form embodying the spirit of the League which will be acceptable to this country and Europe.

This seems to me a wise and statesmanlike position as opposed to Cox's vague talk of the League with reservations not specified, with no way of arriving at them except through the turmoil of party politics, with almost a certainty of getting, if any, a weaker League than the one formerly passed by the Senate and rejected by the President, and with the possibility, which is to me more than a probability, of getting none at all.

Can any one doubt that a commission composed of Democrats of the type of Chief Justice White, Senator Underwood, John W. Davis, and ex-Secretary Lane, and Republicans of the type of Hughes, Taft, Hoover, and Root, with, say, one irreconcilable like Borah, could formulate a plan for the League which would not only meet the necessary approval of two-thirds of the Senate but would preserve the honor of this country and be of use to the world in its need? I have added Borah to the commission because, much as I differ personally from Borah's attitude, I think it is important to have one of those whom I call "irreconcilables" a member, so that, whatever solution is arrived at, it will have as far as possible a united country behind it. I should rather see a solution with the country behind it than a solution which more nearly expressed my own ideas and a divided country. The one I think has a chance of standing the strain of the



Paul Thompson

ELIHU ROOT, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, AUTHORITY ON INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND CHIEF AMONG THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR FORMULATING THE FOREIGN POLICIES TO WHICH THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ITS CANDIDATE, MR. HARDING, ARE COMMITTED

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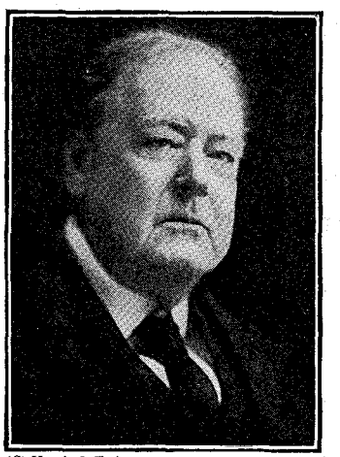
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, DEMOCRAT, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ALABAMA



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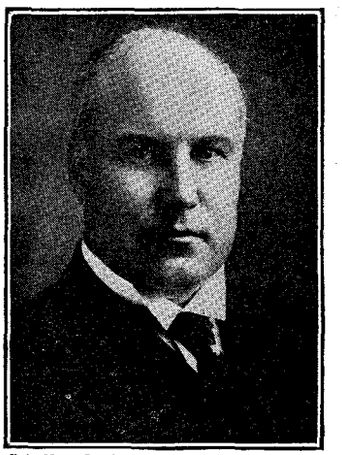

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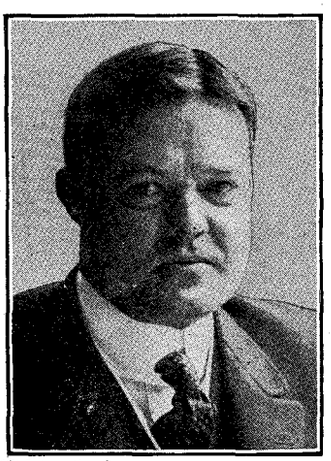
FRANKLIN K. LANE, DEMOCRAT, FORMER SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR



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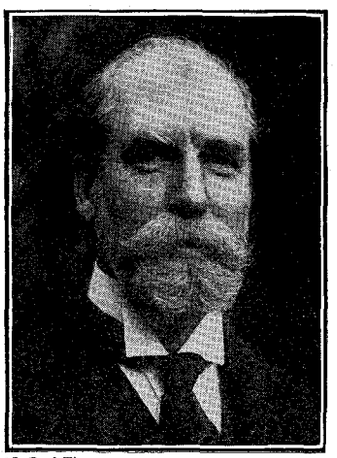
HERBERT HOOVER, REPUBLICAN, FORMER FOOD COMMISSIONER OF THE U. S. AND OF THE ALLIES



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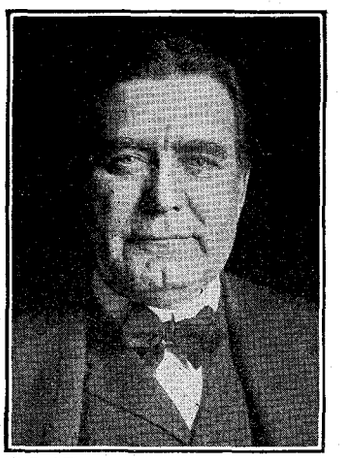

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WILLIAM E. BORAH, REPUBLICAN, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM IDAHO

"Can any any one doubt that a Commission composed of Democrats of the type of Chief Justice White, Senator Underwood, John W. Davis, and ex-Secretary Lane, and Republicans of the type of Hughes, Taft, Hoover, and Root, with say, one irreconcilable like Borah, could formulate a plan . . . ?"

coming years, while the other will always be the subject of party criticism, and, in my opinion, will break when the first stress comes.

Such a commission as I have suggested would approach the subject dispassionately; would formulate its plan with more calmness and deliberation than is possible in a legislative body; and would be able to present to the Senate a solution unstained by the rancor which is sure to be engendered if the League is submitted again first hand to the Senate after having been made a party issue in the election.

If the commission fails in its task, it is because the country is not ready for the League and will not rise to its plain duty, and all leagues are dead.

With Cox there is, to my mind, a certainty of failure. With Harding's plan there is more than a probability that the spirit which animated us in the war may be to some extent revived.

To join any League of European nations was a long step for the United States to take; the odds were always against the League. It is contrary to our traditions and superstitions. While we were under the enthusiasm of the war I believe a satisfactory League could have been obtained if tactfully presented to the Senate and the country. Now that that spirit is declining it requires infinitely more tact, more patience, and more statesmanship, and a more definite surrender of party advantage to be derived from the settlement of this question than it did two years ago.

While the League that can now be got may not be as satisfactory as I should wish, my position is just the opposite of those who would go into the League as it was presented and amend it backwards. I want the country to make the best arrangements possible now, and then amend it forward if experience shows that it is wise to do so.

I said I would quote Harding's exact words:

"What is in my mind is the wisdom of calling into real conference the ablest and most experienced minds of this country, from whatever walks of life they may be derived and without regard to party affiliation, to formulate a definite, practical plan along the lines already indicated for the consideration of the controlling foreign Powers.

"The objection, strongly uttered in some quarters, that this course would involve the reconvening of the entire convention may be regarded as a very slight one. The acceptance of our proposals by the few principal nations would undoubtedly be followed promptly by the acceptance on the part of the minor members of the alliance.

"There would be no material delay. One cannot disregard the leadership or have any doubt about the influence of the principal allied and associated Powers. In so far as I could do so, without disregarding the proprieties, I should give very earnest and practically undivided attention to this very vital subject from the day of my election, and I should ask others to do likewise as a matter of public and patriotic duty. Indeed, I should hope to have behind me, after the decision on the National referendum we are soon to have, a country wholly united in earnest endeavor to achieve a true solution of this problem upon which the future civilization so largely depends."

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THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE IN LATIN AMERICA

BY LLOYD R. MORRIS

IT is only a few days since that several of the New York daily papers made brief mention of the imprisonment for political crimes in Santo Domingo and Guatemala, respectively, of two poets. Were a convincing illustration required of our almost total ignorance of the thought and literature of Spanish America, none would be more explicit than the casual and uncertain identification of Fabio Fiallo and José Santos Chocano by such of our publications as noticed their imprisonment. And yet to those of our Latin-American neighbors whose native language is Spanish, and in great measure to the people of Spain, Santos Chocano speaks with as authentic a voice as did Walt Whitman to English-speaking peoples.

It is perhaps a recognition of our curious neglect of a literature so important to us in the quality of its spiritual content that has prompted the publication at this time of Mr. Walsh's excellent anthology of Spanish and Spanish-American poetry[1] and Mr. Goldberg's provocative introduction to a group of contemporary Spanish-American writers.[2] An unqualified charge of neglect of Spanish and Spanish-American poetry by English and American poets would, however, in the light of the weight of evidence to the contrary contained in the "Hispanic Anthology," be less susceptible of proof than popular ignorance of that literature in this country would justify us in believing. For one of the obvious points revealed by even the most casual glance at the anthology is the somewhat surprising extent to which Spanish poetry has received poetic translation into English from the days of Byron in England and of Bryant and Longfellow in the United States down to Arthur Symons and Masefield and several of our own contemporary writers of verse.

Among the latter group must be counted Mr. Walsh himself, who has brought to his editorial task not only a profound familiarity with the poetry of Spain and of Latin America but a rarely sympathetic insight into the diverse experience of life of which they are the expression. The plan of his anthology is remarkable for its comprehensive inclusion of selections from the work of every significant figure in Hispanic poetry from the unknown author of the "Poema del Cid" to the latest of Porto Rican *modernistas*, born in 1838. Equally important, and especially so from the point of view of the American reader unacquainted with the Spanish language, is the finely judicious selection which Mr. Walsh has made in choosing not only the original Spanish poems most representative of their authors but the translations into English which constitute the anthology. For the most part these translations are of highly poetic quality and recreate in English the mood and color as well as the content of the original Spanish versions. This wholly admirable anthology thus for the first time provides the reader unfamiliar with Castilian with an adequate introduction to a poetic literature as extensive and as distinguished in quality as that of our common English tongue. The chronological sequence of arrangement adopted by Mr. Walsh and the succinct biographical and bibliographical notes with which he has introduced the selections from each poet notably enhance the value of the volume.

Perhaps the greatest service of the "Hispanic Anthology" is in calling to our attention the rarely beautiful verse written by Spanish-American poets during the past twenty-five years, much of it influenced by what Spanish critics have called the *modernista* movement, and by what

RUBÉN DARIO

Mr. Goldberg, in his suggestive introduction to the work of several of these poets, terms the modernist renovation. That renovation, or movement, first took definite form in the work of several Spanish-American writers, notably Rubén Dario, the Nicaraguan; Manuel Gutierrez Najera, Enrique Gonzalez Martinez, and Salvador Diaz Miron, the Mexicans; the Cuban Julian del Casal; the Colombian José Asuncion Silva; and the Peruvian José Santos Chocano. Beginning with a desire to introduce into Spanish poetry the innovations in form and the philosophy which characterized the literature produced by the Parnassian, symbolist, and decadent groups in France, the modernist movement brought forth sweeping changes in both the content and the form of Spanish-American poetry, profoundly affected the course of contemporary literature in Spain itself, and became in a measure an intellectual declaration of independence on the part of the authors of Latin America. Not the least singular element in the development of recent literature in Latin America is the fact that a literary movement having for its fundamental programme so artificial a collection of æsthetic principles should have produced a body of writing of which the chief characteristic is its conscious expression of an indigenous continental and racial life.

In his book Mr. Goldberg devotes a chapter to those writers whom he classes as precursors of the renovation, namely, Gutierrez Najera, the Cuban patriot-poet José Marti, Casal, Diaz Miron, Silva, Amado Nervo, and Gonzalez Martinez, illustrating his exposition of their contribution to Spanish-American letters with copious quotations from their work in English versions. Gutierrez Najera, the Mexican poet, possessed a charming and delicate lyric gift and a whimsical humor, and expressed in his work the ironic reaction to life which was a consequence of his intellectual doubt. Marti, the prophet of Cuban independence, saw life in a more affirmative fashion, and brought to his poetry something of the vigorous personality which orchestrated his glowing prose. Casal, consciously exotic, wrote exquisite sonnets voicing his nostalgia for lands and epochs that he had never known, developing in his art a cult of the *nuance* characteristically individual in expression, but derived from much reading of the French decadents whose works were his breviary. The Colombian poet, José Asuncion Silva, perhaps the most significant of the precursors of modernism, sought an intellectual emancipation from philosophic dogma in a determination to savor all possible experiences in life. His poetry, melancholic, voluptuous, illusory, is iridescent with subtle rhythmical coloring. An innovator in poetic forms, Silva expressed in both his verse and his fragile prose the chromatic quality of his many moods. Diaz Miron, the Mexican, began his poetic career with the vehement assertion of personality; a Latin Henley in his youth, the defiance has left his art, and in his last—and to-day only acknowledged—work he has revealed himself a seeker after the exact phrase and an epicurean of vivid tragedy. Amado Nervo, the Mexican poet, who died only last year, wrote of the beauty of characteristically modern life; caring little for the forms of art, he expressed a contemporary faith in science in terms of beauty. Gonzalez Martinez, also a Mexican, leads the revolt against the tradition which has crystallized about the name of Rubén Dario, and has expressed as his creed the necessity for probing beneath the externality of experience.

Following his chapter dealing with the precursors of modernism, Mr. Goldberg devotes chapters to Rubén Dario; José Enrique Rodo, the Uruguayan essayist and critic; José Santos Chocano, the greatest living Latin-American poet; José Maria Eguren, a young Peruvian poet; and Rufino Blanco Fombona, the Venezuelan poet and novelist, who is now exiled from his country and residing in Spain. Dario is to Americans perhaps the most representative and the best-known of Latin-American poets. His early verse was colored by that of the French symbolists; erotic, sensual, and eclectic, it voiced a neo-Hellenism characteristic of the period in which it was written. With greater

[1] Hispanic Anthology. Poems Translated from the Spanish by English and North American Poets. Collected and Arranged by Thomas Walsh. The Hispanic Society of America. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

[2] Studies in Spanish-American Literature. By Isaac Goldberg. Brentano's.

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maturity came a period of philosophic doubt, a melancholy distrust of life, which led him to write that—

> . . . there is no grief greater than that of living,
> nor more grievous woe than conscious life.

Finally came the spiritual pantheism which is his greatest intellectual contribution to the spirit of contemporary literature. Dario is undoubtedly the most significant writer produced by Latin America, and in the quality of its content as a reaction to modern experience his verse belongs with the great fund of poetry common to all nations. In Chocano we have an arrogant, primitive soul untroubled by philosophic questioning, vigorously expounding the theory of Pan-Americanism. It is in Chocano's verse that we find powerfully set forth the native beauties of the South American landscape, the vivid surge of national traditions, the buoyant hope of a glorious future. Chocano suggests the analogy of Whitman; he is, above all, the poet of the Southern democracies. If Chocano is the South American Whitman, José Enrique Rodo may well be termed the South American Emerson. Like Emerson, Rodo sees life in terms of infinite potentiality, and his philosophic creed is dynamic in its insistence upon the constant renewal and reintegration of the individual personality, upon the necessity for the constant preservation of intellectual curiosity, upon the fact that truth itself has no virtue except as a basis of action. Of the chapters devoted to Eguren, an engaging if not important lyric poet, and to Blanco Fombona, the Venezuelan poet, critic, and novelist who shares the Pan-Americanism of Chocano and Rodo and views life from the angle of Socialistic theory, little need be said beyond an admission of their adequacy as introductions. Mr. Goldberg's criticism is impressionistic; he has based his appraisals of South American writers largely upon the estimates of native critics, and he has interpreted with no very remarkable originality the principal tendencies evident in their work. The principal value of his book lies in the fact that it offers a stimulating introduction to a body of literature too little known in the United States.

That the body of South American literature which has developed out of the modernist movement is of absorbing interest is not to be doubted. The criticism of the Argentine statesman and writer Mitre, that Latin-American literature, as a whole, possessed little cohesion and few discernible ideals, has been invalidated by the writings of such men as Dario, Chocano, Silva, and Rodo. And to us in the United States that literature has the added advantage of interpreting not only the psychology but the spiritual life of our neighbors in the republics to the south.

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

Closing Net (The). By Henry C. Rowland. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

This is a new edition of a thrilling story of crime based on the adventures of an expert American burglar who reforms in Paris when he finds his own half-brother facing his pistol. Later the situation turns around and the burglar brother rescues the reforming half-brother and saves him from ruin and disgrace. The book, as the publishers say, is "full of action, thrills, surprises, and red-blooded excitement." If a "movie" has not been made from it, one certainly should be.

Ditte: Girl Alive. By Martin Anderson Nexö. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

Danish fiction is attracting attention. Nexö's "Pelle the Conqueror" has been called a "stupendous prose epic." His new book is not (one almost adds, "Thank Heaven!") a stupendous four-part affair, but a simple, natural tale of a little Danish fishing village, with a peasant girl as its heroine.

Flappers & Philosophers. By F. Scott Fitzgerald. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Short stories by the author of the astonishing "This Side of Paradise." We use the word "astonishing" literally, for Mr. Fitzgerald has an impish joy in shocking and surprising his readers. These stories have clever situations. "Head and Shoulders" has a twist at the end that is truly O. Henryish. So does "Bernice Bobs her Hair." We pick these two as the best.

Henry Elizabeth. By Justin Huntly McCarthy. The John Lane Company, New York.

A capital tale of the days of Queen Bess. It is just historical enough and not too much so. How the sturdy red-headed young country squire got his queer name and how he was awakened so that from being a stupid, sottish country clown he became a gentleman of noble heart and intrepid courage—these elements make up a tale which has incident, action, humor, and character depiction—and what more need one ask for in a novel?

Modern Greek Stories. By Demetra Vaka and Aristides Phoutrides. Duffield & Co., New York.

A dozen stories translated from the works of Slovak and Czech writers. Together they give a clear and interesting picture of the life of the two peoples, both in city and village. The volume is one of "The Interpreter's Series," a good idea well worth carrying out, if this is a fair sample.

Wang the Ninth. By Putnam Weale. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

Mr. Weale has before this written well and forcefully about China. This story tells how a Chinese boy, a peasant's son, takes a message of vital importance to the allied forces who are to advance against Peking, at the time of the Boxer Rebellion. The tale is one of adventure and courage, and the character of the Chinese boy is unusual and decidedly interesting.

BIOGRAPHY

Memoirs of Life and Literature. By W. H. Mallock. Harper & Brothers, New York.

Whatever one may think of Mr. Mallock's views on social, political, and theological questions, and however he may be regarded as a writer of fiction, it is unquestioned that he has had unusual opportunities for knowing the men and women of his day in English society and in literary and political circles. His Memoirs reflect this knowledge, but his comments and anecdotes are not always agreeable or calculated to give the reader high ideals. Thus he sees Carlyle and tells us that he wore dirty slippers; he sees Swinburne and tells us that he drank too much; when he recalls Cardinal Manning it is to sneer at the Cardinal's belief that Satan was back of spirit messages; he tells us that "Ouida" tried, in an ungrammatical letter, to get the second Lord Lytton to elope with her; he mentions Jowett's connection with the Broad Church only to laugh as he remembers that a Russian attempting to describe a new religion to Jowett said, "It was not a good religion. It was schlim-schlam. It was vees-vash; it was vot you call 'Broad Church.'" Mr. Mallock, in indicating his summing up of everything, quotes the Greek motto on the title-page of his own "New Republic:" "All is laughter, all is dust, all is nothingness, for all the things that are arise out of the unreasonable." Greek or not, this is mighty poor philosophy, and it leaves an unhappy impression of Mallock's views of life and man.

Pastor of the Pilgrims (The). A Biography of John Robinson. By Walter H. Burgess. Illustrated. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York.

This is really the life and times of John Robinson, and more his times than his life. It is the work of a scholar thoroughly familiar with the field, is full of curious, interesting, and sometimes instructive learning, and will furnish a useful mine from which editors, preachers, and orators can draw in preparing their articles and addresses for the Tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. It makes very clear the difference between the Puritans and the Pilgrims, familiar to scholars but little realized by the general reader. And it indicates the difficulty which both Puritans and Pilgrims experienced in dealing with that still unsolved problem of how to reconcile liberty with union in the Christian Church.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

Founding of a Nation (The). By Frank M. Gregg. George H. Doran & Co., New York.

The title fails to indicate the romantic character of the book. It is an attempt to put the experiences of the Pilgrim Fathers in fiction form. Many to whom the facts of history as ordinarily presented are unpalatable will find pleasure in reading this story of a cavalier who sailed with the Pilgrims on the Mayflower.

Pilgrim Republic (The). By John A. Goodwin. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

This new edition of a standard history appears at the right time, when all the world is interested in the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims. It tells the Pilgrims' story with a fullness of detail and a grasp of the subject that can probably be found in no other book.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

In Lower Florida Wilds. By Charles Terry Simpson. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

A fresh note is struck in these chapters about Florida. A naturalist who loves that remarkable State takes us with him on his excursions, and introduces us to many strange and interesting places unknown to the tourist. He talks genially yet learnedly about trees, flowers, shells, the geology and the geography of the Everglade State.

South of Suez. By William Ashley Anderson. Illustrated. Robert M. McBride & Co., New York.

Impressionistic sketches of personal experiences and historical happenings in Abyssinia, Zanzibar, and other places in Africa in which the writer sojourned during war times. The impressions do not always "get across," good as the author's material is.

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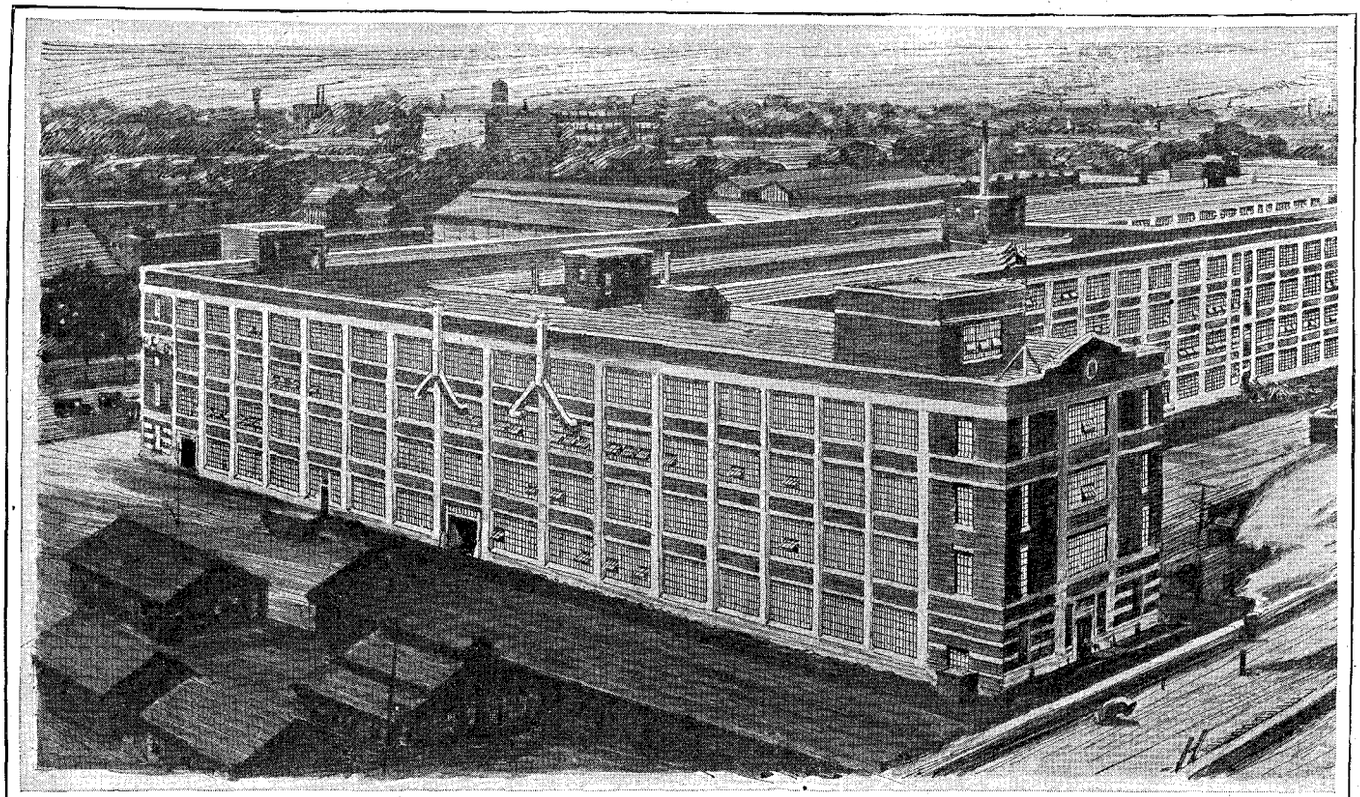

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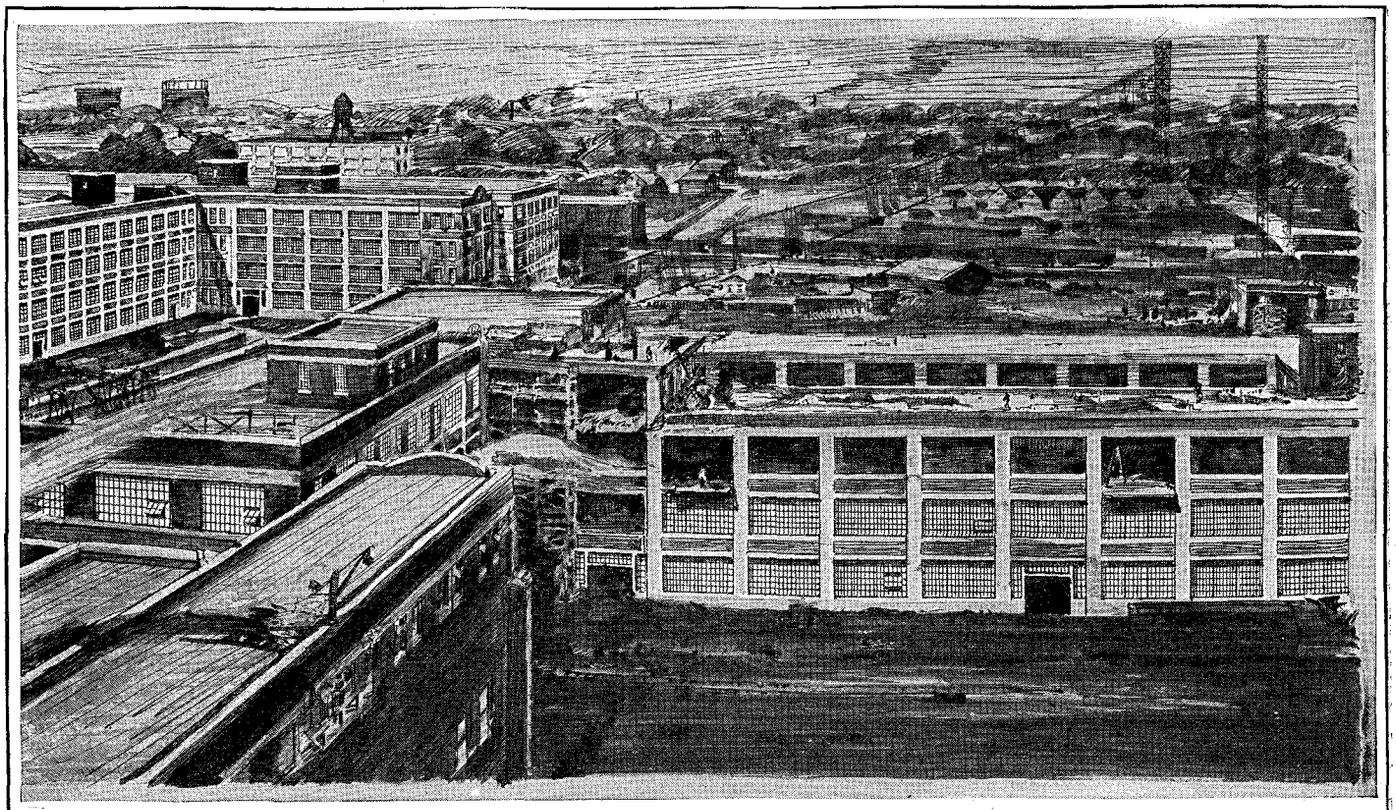

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THIS WEEK'S OUTLOOK

A WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY[1]

BY J. MADISON GATHANY

SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

Wilson's Foreign Policies

ON another page Mr. Montague tells us, in reference to the League of Nations, that "where Cox is vague, Harding is specific." Is he right?

Should the contention that neither party will probably have the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate to pass any League plan be regarded as an argument for the election of Harding instead of Cox?

Can you show from American history that "to join any league of European nations is contrary to our traditions and superstitions"? Be specific in illustrating what you have to say.

If you can, should this fact carry much weight in arguing for or against the United States joining a League of Nations?

What do you think of Mr. Williams's defense of President Wilson, found on pages 235 and 236?

Article X of the League of Nations Covenant has been talked about probably more than any half-dozen other articles contained in it. Have you actually read Article X? Is, or is not, much that is said about it misrepresentation?

Have you compared what the various party platforms say about the League of Nations? What is your opinion of these platform comments upon this topic?

How do you define the following: *Stultify*, "*irreconcilables*," *rancor*, *tradition*, *superstition*, *alliance*.

If you wish to get an authoritative view of President Wilson's foreign policies, and be able to judge whether he has departed radically from the policies followed by other American Presidents, you could do no better than read the following books: "The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson," by Robinson and West (Macmillan); "The President's Control of Foreign Relations," by B. E. S. Corwin (Princeton University Press); "President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses," published by the George H. Doran Co.; "The Relation of the Executive Power to Legislation," by H. C. Black (Princeton University Press).

Clearing the Jungle

Can you show that significant progress has been made in the last few years in building up confidence between the employers and employees? How essential is such confidence to social and material prosperity?

If you were an employer, would yon believe in paying a saving wage instead of a living wage? What are your reasons?

Would you be willing to pay a cent or two a pound more for meat if that would permit the stockyard employees of our country ultimately to own their homes?

Do you think we ought to speak well of those who own the stockyards and meat-packing houses?

Would you and I be better off if the meat-packing companies were made to get out of business and individual competition in the meat business established instead?

A friend of yours wishes advice as to how to handle his business. Can you point out to him several sound principles of business management?

Many employees cannot see the justice of big salaries for the managers of business concerns. Do you think efficient management should be highly compensated?

Define the following terms: *Demeanor*, *indefatigable*, *aspersions*, *slander*, *surmise*, *juvenile delinquency*.

Here are some valuable books recommended in connection with this topic: "When the Workmen Help You Manage," by W. R. Bassett (Century); "Common Sense and Labor," by Samuel Crowther (Doubleday, Page); "Industry and Humanity," by W. L. M. King (Houghton Mifflin); "Modern Industrial Movements," by D. Bloomfield (H. W. Wilson).

A Foremost Jew

Did Mr. Schiff get the eulogy that has been accorded him simply because he was a rich man and gave away much money?

How can an individual get the sincere, open, and unanimous praise of his neighbor?

What were some of the things about Mr. Schiff that you liked very much?

What names of other rich men and great benefactors occur to you?

Every one ought to spend considerable time in reading about those who have had a definite influence on thought and action. For this purpose two excellent series of biographies are those entitled "Makers of the Nineteenth Century" (Henry Holt) and "Figures from American History" (Scribners).

The Second Socialist Ousting

How does Mr. Davenport account for the oustings of the New York State Assembly Socialists?

Do you agree with him in saying that the expulsion of these Socialists was "stupid strategy"?

Would you consider an individual pro-Socialist who denounces the action of the New York Assembly as to these Socialists?

Are you opposed to Socialism? If so, just why are you?

Mr. Davenport speaks of "parliamentry government" in his article on another page. What is it? How is it conducted?

There are those who believe that the co-operative movement among consumers and producers which has made extraordinary progress in the United States since 1914 is Socialism. Is it?

Can you show a better method of fighting unsound doctrine in America than that followed by the New York Assembly?

[1] These questions and comments are designed not only for the use of current events classes and clubs, debating societies, teachers of history and English, and the like, but also for discussion in the home and for suggestions to any reader who desires to study current affairs as well as to read about them. —THE EDITORS.

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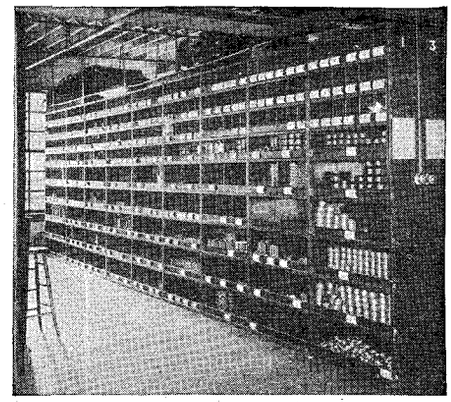

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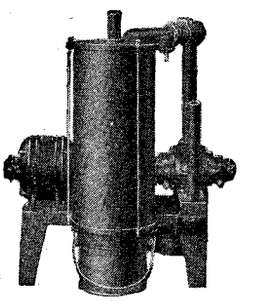

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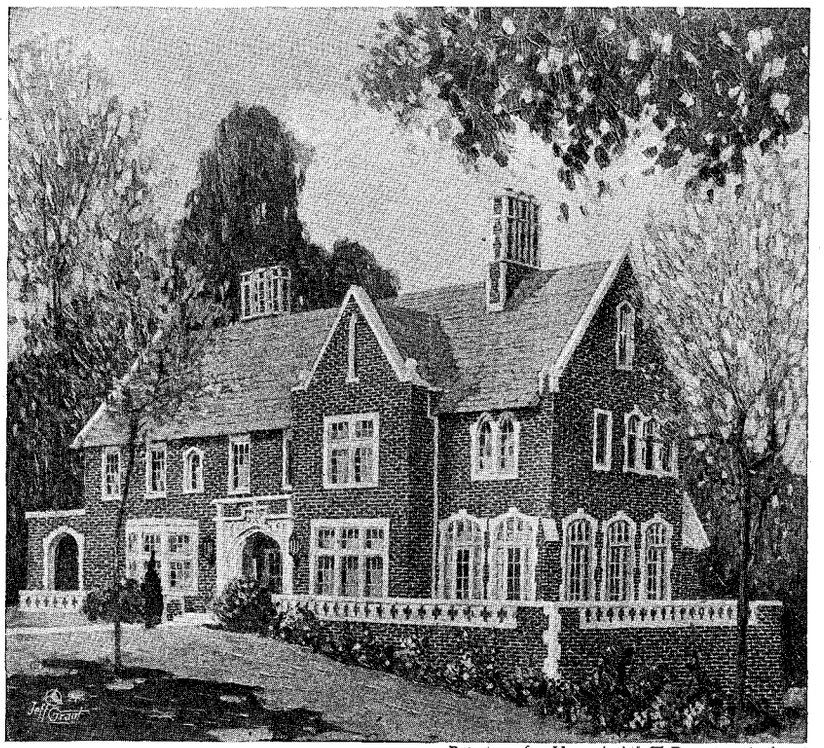

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A LETTER FROM RUSSIA'S LITTLE GRANDMOTHER

CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY, "the Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," who aroused so much interest during her recent visit to this country, is now at work among the orphans in Russian Carpathia. She was unable to re-enter Russia because Denikine refused her a passport.

She writes that the peasants of Russian Carpathia have "clear minds and good hearts," and are eager to learn, but are utterly destitute. She has started an orphanage at Uzhorod, aud begs her friends in America to send clothing, paper, pencils, pens and ink, slates, maps, scissors, knives and other tools, playthings, materials to be made up by the children, paints and brushes, and instructive pictures. She says:

"Clothes for children are indispensable. Coarse and second-hand garments would do, for they are naked, and the winter begins in November, and in autumn we have rain. Send all you can get to A. A. Beskida, President of the School Fund, Uzhorod, Karpato Russ, Czechoslovakia. We shall be grateful for every donation to our naked and hungry, ignorant but very capable children. It will be such a delight to see them rationally occupied, working with their minds and hands, instead of wandering from door to door, imploring for a bit of coarse bread or a cold potato, and never learning anything!

"Their country is beautiful and rich, but it will take two or three years before these poor people will be able to look out for themselves. Do not accuse us, dear Americans! You are living in much better conditions. Nobody has trampled down your soil, nobody has robbed you of your property."

Any one who cannot easily pack clothing, etc., to go abroad may send it to Mrs. S. Eleanor Gregg, 3 Monadnock Street, Boston 25, Massachusetts, to be forwarded.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Chilmark, Massachusetts.

CONCERNING MR. F. D. ROOSEVELT'S LETTER TO THE OUTLOOK

I HAVE read with interest Franklin D. Roosevelt's letter to The Outlook on page 93 of the issue of September 15.

He asserts that what he meant to say in his speech at Butte, Montana, was "that on any grave international question . . . affecting the destiny of any Republic on the North or South American Continent we would all vote practically as a unit because of harmony of interest."

Please note that he limits the unity of voting to such questions as "affect the destiny of any American Republic." The destiny of all such Republics is now safeguarded by our Monroe Doctrine, which under the weak, ambiguous wording of Article XXI of the Covenant is in danger of being nullified. We are not at all fearful of the "destiny" of the Republics mentioned so long as the United States is free to interpret and apply the Monroe Doctrine. Regardless of voting power, any aggression against any American Republic would of necessity have to be met by the United States.

There is much jealousy and almost hatred of the United States, in some cases,

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on the part of some of the mentioned Republics. In view of this, how they would vote as between us and the conflicting, selfish interests of Europe, is the vital question. The small Republics have little or no money, armies, or navies that could be used by the Council of the League to prevent territorial aggression or other international complications under the power of Article X. They could easily vote to entangle us when they had no self-interest at stake.

Mr. Roosevelt's position now is that we should enter the League because, forsooth, in a restricted sense we should and might have the voting support of the small American Republics. If our great Republic must be guided in its conclusions by the possible future conduct of a lot of little nations, two of which we are now invading, it is better far that we enter not the League at all.

The only great solvent nation on earth to-day, with due regard to its own destiny and its world work, can and should determine its duty alone as to the League of Nations. If we are not able to make our own decision, we are fearful of our future. The United States should never take her stand on world matters, influenced by the possible future act of others. History divulges that we have done the right because it was right. Mr. Roosevelt's position smacks too much of cheap barter and sale akin to European diplomacy.

GEORGE FRANKLIN OSLER.

Madeira, Ohio.

"THE PIG AND THE PRIMARY:" A READER'S VIEW

MR. HAROLD T. PULSIFER, of your editorial staff, presents in your issue of September 1 an interesting suggestion for an improvement in our method of selecting Presidential candidates, by which the choice would fall on the candidate satisfactory to the largest number, and not on a "dark horse," in whom comparatively few are interested. He asks those who think they know a better plan to send it to the editors of The Outlook.

A simple way, it seems to me, and one certainly more easily obtainable, would be to attempt at present no change in the election of delegates to the National Conventions, which this year, at least, represented fairly well the parties as a whole. Provide in the voting, however, that after the first ballot all candidates be dropped who do not obtain ten per cent, or possibly (following Mr. Pulsifer) twenty per cent, of the total votes cast. Then on each ballot drop the lowest candidate until but one is left. Provide for pauses between the ballots for parleyings, if desired. There would be fewer ballotings than at present, and the final choice would be that of the majority of those present. Then vote again in the same way for Vice-President. Lay stress in each election on the desirability of a candidate from a strategically important State, and let the delegates themselves give this, in their votes, its due weight.

Unless the Democrats drop their requirement that the successful candidate receive two-thirds of the votes cast, a modification of this plan would be necessary for their conventions.

This method was followed in the election of all our class officers in my senior year at Harvard—the Class of 1879.

Buffalo, New York. FRANCIS ALMY.

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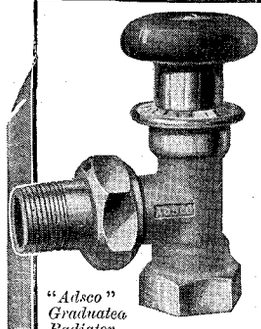

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How many tons of coal will you use this winter?—50 to 500?

At $13 a ton, an "Adsco" System can save you from $200 to $2000 on this quantity.

"Adsco" Heating is inexpensive to install—costs 15 to 20% less than most other systems.

It is easy, and costs very little, to change steam or hot water systems over to "Adsco" System of Atmospheric Steam Heating.

"Adsco's" 20 to 30% economy over most other systems is due to its extreme simplicity. There are no steam or return traps, no air valves, no pumps,—no complicated devices.

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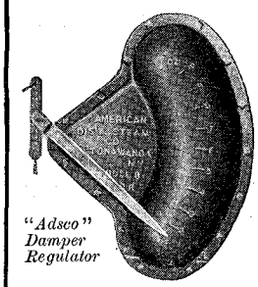

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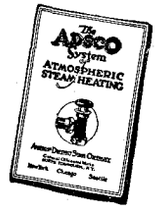

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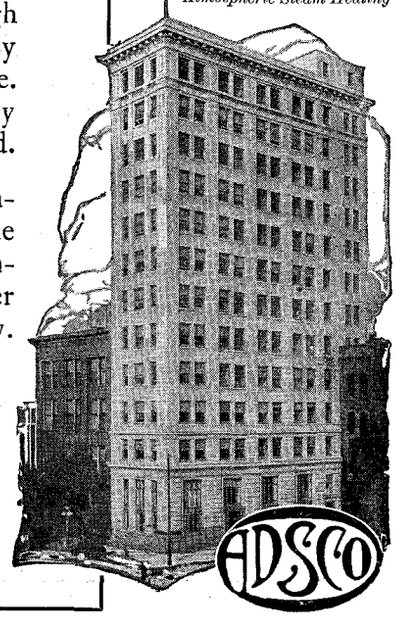

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NEW YORK

DR. HOLMES AND THE STEREOSCOPE

A FRIEND of the "Bookman," Mr. Gilbert Shepard, told its "Gossip Shop" of an old store in Boston, kept by a Mr. Bates, in which Mr. Shepard worked as a boy:

"Dr. Holmes and Ralph Waldo Emerson used to come into the store. So did Whittier and Longfellow. Well, Dr. Holmes would visit the place because he was interested in stereoscopes. The earliest form of the stereoscope was a big box with lenses in it. Dr. Holmes noticed that the lenses were not always adapted to the eyes of the person who used the box. He conceived the idea of putting the lenses on one end of a little stick and the picture on the other. You could make the picture slide toward the lenses at will, so that you could get the proper focus.

"Mr. Bates made all sorts of novelties, and so he turned out a lot of these new stereoscopes at Dr. Holmes's suggestion. They were good sellers, I remember. Mr. Bates, however, added an improvement of his own devising, in the shape of a shade for the eyes. He had seen people put one hand over the eyes when looking at the pictures. . . .

"Emerson often came into the shop. He always had a pleasant word for me, patted me on the shoulder, and wanted to know how I was getting along. One day he ran in when it was raining. He needed an umbrella, but he couldn't remember the right word. He stood in the middle of the store with one arm rigid in the air and the other working up and down alongside it until we realized that he was imitating an umbrella in the raising."

THE DEVIL'S PROPERTY IN THE UNITED STATES

I WONDER if the people of the United States realize how much property they have allotted to the devil. In making an invoice of his property, I find rivers, lakes, mountains, creeks, gulches, towns, and other miscellaneous holdings. The accounts of these places indicate that they have been consigned to him because of the despondency, wrath, or awe of the first persons to locate the places so allotted.

In Alaska there are eight tracts important enough to enumerate, consisting of three mountains, a portion of a fourth (the Devil's Thumb), two sunken reefs, a gulch, and a bend in the Yukon River (the Devil's Elbow).

The Devil's Post Pile is located in California; his natural tower in Wyoming; and he has a kitchen in each—Yellowstone Park and Nevada. Both kitchens are filled with seething pots of mud and boiling lakes. For his sport he has been granted a slide in Colorado and another in Utah. He has a gulch in California, an inkstand in the Yellowstone, a causeway in Colorado, and five creeks, a river, and several mountains west of the Mississippi River. He also has many lesser pieces of property such as lakes, gardens, rocks, and inns; and with six other devils he owns the Seven Devils' Mountains.

In the United States proper there are fourteen villages allotted to his Majesty. Puritanical New England contains none of these, but the Southeastern States have made their contribution, allotting a town in

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each of the Virginias and another in Georgia.

Arkansas, Texas, Colorado, Utah, Oregon, North Dakota, Kentucky, Ohio, and Illinois have followed the example of the Southeastern States and have each granted a post office to the devil. While, in addition, Wisconsin has one called Devil's Lake, which operates only in summer, when the boarders come for their vacations.

The only town of any size in this entire number worthy of the name city is Devil's Lake, North Dakota. This has a population of about five thousand and is situated on Devil's Lake, which is the only one of the five or more lakes assigned to him that is of any great size. It is fourteen miles wide and about fifty miles long and is salt, like many other Western lakes which have no outlet. It is becoming a great summer resort.

It seems, upon investigation, that many of the pieces of property granted to the devil are popular among tourists and summer boarders. Only those catering to this trade seem to prosper. All the others are too insignificant to be mentioned except on such occasions as when taking stock of the devil's belongings. Outside of Devil's Lake and one other town with a population of about two hundred, the remainder of his towns average less than seventy-five persons.

On the whole, the places allotted to the devil are not very prosperous. Ohio must send its people of Devil's Elbow to Temperanceville for mail, while those dwelling at Devil's Den, Georgia, must go to Recovery to take a train. May we not, therefore, wonder if there is not sometimes something negative in a name?

E. L. ALLEN.

Washington, District of Columbia.

"TAMA JIM"

WILL you allow an old settler of Tama County, Iowa, to correct a typographical error in your article, "The Career of 'Tama Jim,'" found in your September 8 edition? I knew Tama Jim Wilson intimately well. Your article says that he migrated to "Tama County, Ohio." It should be "Tama County, Iowa." There is no Tama County in Ohio. He was called "Tama Jim" to distinguish him from another James Wilson, of Fairfield, Iowa, who was in the Legislature at the same time. All the great men do not come from Ohio. But, notwithstanding that, I am going to cast my first vote for Harding, of Ohio. We have had some great men from Iowa, and "Tama Jim" Wilson is one of them.

MRS. JAMES L. BRACKEN.

Tama, Tama County, Iowa.

AGAINST AUTOCRACY

YOUR editorial in the issue of August 11 upon "An Important Issue" is timely and forcible. I am glad to see that you propose to keep this question before your readers. It would seem to be the most important question of the present political campaign.

During the war we were exhorted to make sacrifices and put forth efforts to make the world safe for democracy. Is it conceivable that the American people, after all of these sacrifices and efforts, will now in "a solemn referendum" make the United States safe for autocracy?

ALEXANDER HENRY.

Spring Lake Beach, New Jersey.

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Five dishes daily cost $18.25 a year, while just five eggs a day would cost you $82.

Quaker Oats supplies 1,810 calories of nutriment per pound. That's the energy measure of food value. Round steak yields less than half that.

A boy needs 2,000 calories per day. They would cost 13c in Quaker Oats, in eggs about $1.30.

These costs mean little in a day. But note what they mean on a year of breakfasts for a family of five.

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THE NATION'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Believing that the advance of business is a subject of vital interest and importance, The Outlook will present under the above heading frequent discussions of subjects of industrial and commercial interest. This department will include paragraphs of timely interest and articles of educational value dealing with the industrial upbuilding of the Nation. Comment and suggestions are invited.

FIRE PREVENTION DAY

NONE of us, probably, realize the enormous losses of life and property which the United States suffers every year by fire. Recent figures given at the Health and Accident Underwriters' Convention are staggering. According to these figures, over eleven million persons, or one out of every ten, are injured every year, and over one hundred thousand are killed, by accident.

Fire is responsible for a considerable part of these losses, and it is therefore highly important that the American people give thought to means of fire prevention.

President Wilson has issued a proclamation setting aside October 9 as Fire Prevention Day. He calls attention to the fact that "the destruction by fires in the United States involves an annual loss of life of 15,000 men, women, and children, and more than $250,000,000 in buildings, foodstuffs, and other created resources." With the present country-wide shortage of buildings, it is more than ever essential that every person give more thought to the adequate protection of his home and property from loss by fire.

Forty-nine years ago this October there occurred, through carelessness, a fire that devastated three and a half square miles of property in the city of Chicago and cost 250 lives. This was the beginning of an economic waste that to-day costs America nearly $300,000,000 yearly and means death for 15,000 persons. The average citizen who reads of a disastrous fire is content with the thought that the loss is covered by insurance. He doesn't consider that insurance companies are not philanthropic organizations, and that he and every other person in the country eventually pay the loss.

Carelessness and disregard of this fire waste are apparently a National characteristic. The American citizen pays about ten times as much as the average European in fire losses. Statistics say that ninety per cent of all fires in this country are preventable—they are due either to carelessness or to some cause that could be eliminated. Two out of every three fires start in the home. Every day in 1919, 889 homes went up in flames, and the majority of lives lost are in the home fires. Fire prevention, then, like charity, might well begin at home, and perhaps if we paid more attention to home fire protection the habit would become ingrained and industrial and other losses be prevented as well.

There are only three commandments in the fire prevention creed. They are good housekeeping, proper protection, and proper construction. Many a housewife whose kitchen, living, and bedrooms are immaculate, thinks nothing of the old boxes, papers, and other fire breeders in the cellar and attic. It is these accumulations that catch

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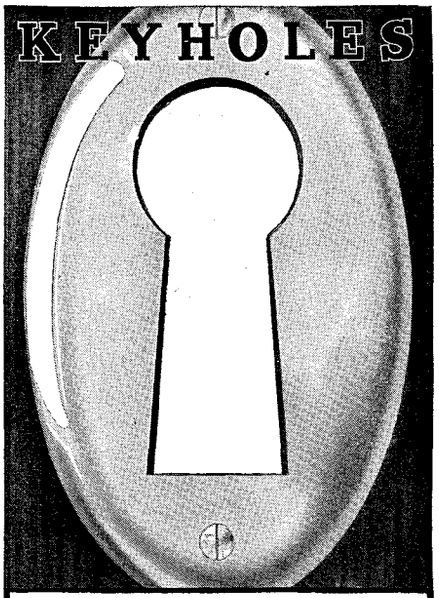

An empty space surrounded by metal.

What happens mechanically inside the lock when the key enters, you don't much care about—provided it *does* happen with perfect ease and regularity, and keeps out gentry who use everything but the key to get in.

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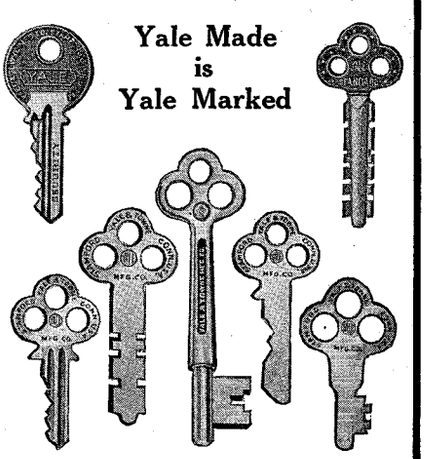

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FIRE PREVENTION DAY

(Continued)

the carelessly thrown match or the hot ash from the furnace and start the conflagration.

Then there are the gasoline and kerosene used for cleaning or lighting that have broken up more homes than divorce. Leaky gas connections and dirty chimneys and flues are other sources of home fires. Clean up the rubbish, keep out inflammable liquids, and you have taken a long step in the direction of safety in the home.

For the fires that cannot be avoided proper protection is necessary. The time to put out any fire is at the start, before it has had time to spread and cause damage. The great Chicago conflagration was supposed to have started by an old Irishwoman's cow kicking over a lantern. A modern hand extinguisher, or even a bucket of water, at the start would have averted one of the biggest fires in history.

Proper construction means, briefly, non-inflammable roof, heat-insulated chimney, fireplaces, steam-pipes, etc., and the avoidance of wells or openings through which a fire, once started, can sweep without obstruction. Construction is a subject that would require volumes to treat adequately. Buildings to-day are better constructed than formerly, and architects are giving attention to construction that eliminates fire hazards. It is housekeeping and protection that require our immediate consideration. It is with the intention of directing the attention of the American people to the grave importance of this subject that an annual Fire Prevention Day is named by Presidential proclamation.

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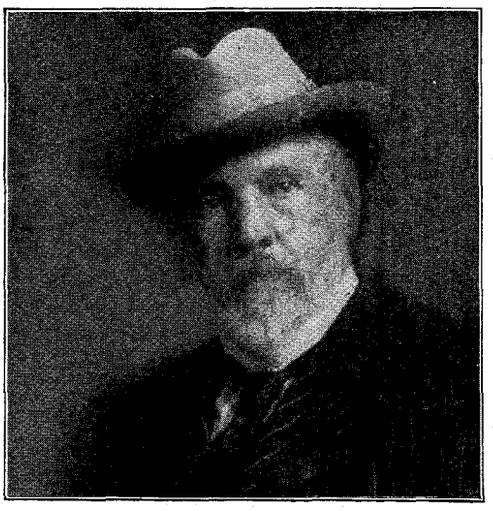

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O 10-12

METROPOLITAN SILHOUETTE

AT THE "MUSICALE INTIME"

BY JOHN G. ARNOTH

"THERE will be an 'open evening' of our intimate music society at my house next Saturday evening, and, having for the occasion the privilege of inviting a few outside guests, I would very much like to have you come. Eight-thirty sharp, please," was the invitation I received over the phone from my friend Mrs. P., of West Eighty-sixth Street.

I had met Mrs. P. several years ago in Lausanne, where her two charming daughters were attending a famous school. The girls were specializing in music, and Miss Myra was already a proficient violinist, while Miss Elizabeth was studying voice.

I knew, consequently, that the family were interested in music, and that since their return to America their hospitable home had become a rendezvous of art and music loving people.

On Saturday evening I rang the doorbell of Mrs. P.'s house and was admitted. The rooms were already well filled with men and women in evening clothes, and conversation was animated and general, giving one the impression that every one knew the others.

In a few minutes a deep-toned Chinese gong sounded from somewhere, and Mrs. P., saying that the music was to begin, graciously asked me to have a seat by her in the spacious living-room, which was also the music-room.

Ladies and gentlemen with note sheets in their hands were gathering from every direction, and ranged themselves in the corner in front of the grand piano. The hostess handed me a typewritten sheet on which the programme was indicated.

A glance at the programme informed me that a short cycle of songs for four mixed voices by Mendelssohn set to words of Heine was the first number.

The singers had by this time taken their places, and I counted fourteen in all, five soprani and three in each of the other parts. A chord was sounded from the piano, the director gave the signal, and the unaccompanied song floated over the rooms.

I had not heard this little cycle for years, and the romance of the poems wedded to the sweet simplicity of the music produced an indescribable charm. The cycle was followed by two romances by a more modern German composer, also *a capella*, and the artistic adequacy of the four-part setting for voices unaccompanied again profoundly impressed me with its purity of beauty, and I became painfully conscious that in New York and in America we do not sufficiently cultivate this form of chaste art.

The next number consisted of selections by a trio. Miss Myra played the violin, a South American (an export merchant, settled in New York, my hostess whispered) the 'cello, and the piano was expertly handled by an American girl, also non-professional. They played two short compositions by Gade, the Danish master, which were followed by the splendid, sparkling, tarantella-like last movement of the Smetana trio.

The chorus now reassembled and a young Italian sang the charming barcarole from "Masaniello" with the chorus, the music bringing back to me memories of the splendid sunlit Bay of Naples. A solo

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METROPOLITAN SILHOUETTE

(Continued)

quartette later sang the spinning quartette from "Martha" in proper style, and afterwards the matchlessly piquant quintette from "Carmen" delighted the audience greatly. The specific American part of the audience was keenly gratified when at last two movements of the Arthur Foote piano quartette were played, which formed the fitting close of the set programme.

Books containing songs and folk-songs of many lands, mostly arranged for four voices and in English translations, were now distributed, and under the leadership of the director and the chorus we all were made to sing in harmonious communion, each taking a part that was most suitable. Our hearts and spirits grew serene with harmony and sweet romantic sentiment and our souls felt purified and chastened as from a shower-bath of spiritual beauty.

As the people at the conclusion of the singing rose from their seats I begged my hostess to tell me something about the whole affair, but she excused herself, saying that this particular aggregation were used to have some material comforts when the spiritual session was over, and it would not do for her as the hostess for the occasion to be behindhand.

In the meantime I sought Miss Myra, whom I found in animated conversation in French with a young man who had played, I noticed, some of the accompaniments for the singing. She hailed me in friendliest manner, and, after introducing me, asked how I had enjoyed myself. I replied that I could not recall an event for the longest time that had given me such unmitigated pleasure, and that I was most anxious to be informed how this thing had come about.

"Well, come and sit down here," was her answer, "and I will tell you all about it; it is really very simple.

"While my sister and I were at the school in Lausanne we made a specialty of music, and during our last year there we were invited to join a private music society which held its meetings in the homes of the families that were members. Most delightful music was made there, from operas and part songs to chamber music, and the membership and atmosphere of the society were charmingly spontaneous and informal. You know, almost every educated European can do something in music; and though none of the members of the society were professional except the director, there were any number of excellent amateurs, or dilettanti, as they call them over there, and we had a most enjoyable year with this circle. As you remember, we had to come home in a hurry when the war broke out, and during the last years both Betty and I, not to mention mother, who is even more of a music enthusiast than either of us, have keenly felt the loss of a real musical and artistic atmosphere that we, so to speak, could take right into the home with us and enjoy with our friends.

"We have heard no end of good—yes, wonderful—things in New York during the last seasons, but nevertheless we both have felt we were getting rusty in our own music and lacked the personal inspiration that encourages one to keep up and go forward. We both assisted in the war work that was going on; but when things settled down last year we talked matters over with mother, and concluded that with a little effort we ought to be able to do the same things here as people in Europe. You will, without doubt, agree that New York at

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NEW YORK CINCINNATI

METROPOLITAN SILHOUETTE
(Continued)

present has more fine teachers and eminent musicians than any city on earth, and the only thing that is a little backward is what is usually called atmosphere. In America we practice more repression than expression, and, as mother says, Americans have been hiring singers to "sing at" them so long that we have forgotten to sing ourselves. But I think that is only a part of it. Europe has, to my mind, a more advanced sense of sociability, and that is why they know how to bring the enjoyment of the arts into their homes.

"Our desire was to form a musical circle, as we had seen it in operation over there, and we could not but believe that among the thousands of New Yorkers who study music seriously without aiming at making it their profession a sufficient number of good amateurs could be found to make a congenial private music society a possibility. Whoever searches will find, you know, and we soon discovered among our friends lots of people eagerly interested as soon as they got the idea, and they again had friends who in turn became enthusiastic for the plan.

"To sum it up briefly, a little over a year ago nine families held a meeting at our house and organized the society whose ministrations you have witnessed this evening.

"Our aim was to do good musical work as well as to enjoy ourselves, so, realizing that we had to have adequate and diversified talent to do a variety of things, we have to some extent gone outside of the family members, and a few detached men and women of musical attainments have by invitation joined our circle. We have about thirty-five active members, and have during the year done trios, quartettes, and some of the classic symphonies in condensed arrangements. When we study some of the operas, mainly those that are not given in America, the singers not needed for the cast make the chorus, and everybody has a good time. It was mother's idea to occasionally have some singing by everybody, and it is now a popular feature; even dad, who has not sung for thirty years except perhaps occasionally in church, says he likes the singing, and that his voice is getting young again."

The hostess now joined us, saying supper was being served, and the company was gradually drifting towards the refectory.

"According to our discipline," Mrs. P. informed me, "the music work stops at 10:30, and, as singing and playing make folks hungry, supper is a popular institution, though every one knows beforehand what he'll get. You see, that was something we had to regulate. Since the society meets every week at the homes of the various members, some hostesses tried to do more than was needed; in fact, showed a rivalry that was both unpleasant and inconvenient, so we simply made a rule that so much and no more could be served for supper.

"We do not allow smoking or card playing in the house while the music is going on" (this was said with a merry twinkle), "since we noticed in some of our husbands a tendency to escape to some upstairs room for a game and so forth, making excuses about not understanding 'highbrow' music and the like, but they are always on deck now and seem to like it. After supper every one does as he pleases."

My hostess now escorted me to the dining-room, where the company were enjoying a buffet supper, and I noticed that, in spite of the somewhat cosmopolitan look, the medium of conversation appeared to be English. Over it all was an atmosphere of well-bred informality and good fellowship which perhaps only music—and by music I mean noble music—may create.

In coming away I had the inspiring impression that this society had hit upon a fine way of democratizing an art that is in itself essentially aristocratic.

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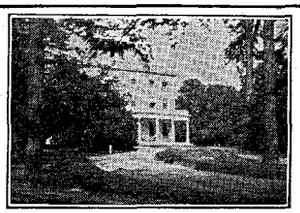

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EXPLOITING THE YELLOWSTONE. IS IT NECESSARY—OR MERELY CHEAPER?

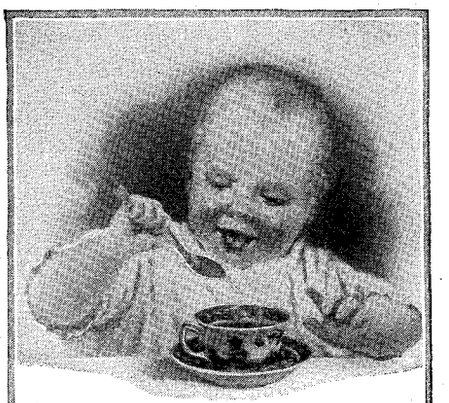
SENATOR WALSH, of Montana, offers in The Outlook of September 8 what you justly term a "persuasive" plea for permitting the entry of commercialism into the National Parks by authorizing the damming of the outlet of the Yellowstone Lake. It is also a plea both ingenious and specious, and therefore all the more dangerous.

Obviously those to profit from this use of "the property of a hundred million people" for the benefit of a very few thousands of those people have materially modified their plan, reported on their own prospectuses to involve the raising of the level of the Yellowstone Lake some twenty-five feet. The protest was too strong; so now less water will do—at first, just as a little did at Niagara at first, with now a definite proposal submitted for asking Great Britain to join in a treaty modification increasing the robbing of the great cataract from twenty-seven per cent to forty per cent, and more as may be demanded. The camel long ago got his nose under the tent at Niagara, and he now has at least his shoulders inside! Senator Walsh asks for only the very tip of the snout. Will he guarantee to oppose pushing the rest of the selfish beast under after the nose gets in?

But consider even the modified six-foot proposition, in which, after storing to the flood level, "the excess [is] to be drawn off gradually when it is needed for irrigation." This of course means that the lake is to be drawn down during the rainless summer gradually. The shores of the Yellowstone Lake are not precipitous, but sloping in general; it is not a concrete reservoir in which the lowering of the water makes little difference at the rim. The Yellowstone shores are, further, not a sand beach like that at Long Branch. To hold the waters at flood level for the several months after they have accumulated means the killing of all or most of the growth that lines the shores; and the gradual drawing down of the water, instead of the quick flood run-off which now leaves the growth uninjured, will almost certainly leave those shores slimy, marshy, and depressing, just as the same process has utterly ruined the once notable beauty of Jackson Lake, south of the Yellowstone Park. The people who are in increasing numbers camping each summer in the Park would soon have to avoid this great lake after it had been made an irrigation reservoir.

But is it at all necessary to thus interfere with the integrity of this great recreation Park in order to avail of its waters, or is it merely cheaper? There is a competent witness at hand in the Secretary of the Interior, the Hon. John Barton Payne, in whose hands are all the irrigation relations of the Federal Government. Judge Payne has been in the Yellowstone within a few weeks, and in a letter to me, dated September 9, he writes:

> There is a growing appreciation of our National Parks, and the country is beginning, perhaps dimly, to realize the great service they are rendering. I spent four or five days in Yellowstone Park during July. The attendance there is constantly increasing, especially among persons who go there in their own machines and camp there. It is a genuine pleasure to see how the camp is being enjoyed. A live question in which I am gratified that your Associa-



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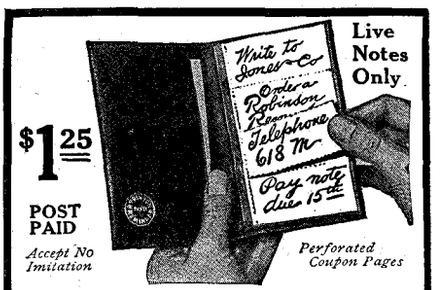

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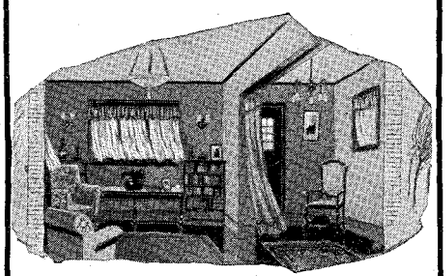

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EXPLOITING THE YELLOWSTONE. IS IT NECESSARY—OR MERELY CHEAPER?

(Continued)

tion takes such a deep interest is the certain encroachment upon the parks by power and other interests tending toward their commercialization. This tendency should be resisted to the utmost. Two projects have been presented proposing to invade the Yellowstone. One from Idaho proposes to build two dams, and to store the water in the lowlands not far from the Idaho line. A bill to authorize this passed the Senate and is now pending in the House. The other comes from Montana and seeks to dam the Yellowstone River near the mouth of Yellowstone Lake. I gave a hearing to persons interested in this project when I was in the Yellowstone, and I pointed out to them that it was very much more desirable from every standpoint that the dam for reclamation use should be built outside of the Park. The water flow in the vicinity of the Yankee Jim Canyon is more than twice as large as at the mouth of Yellowstone Lake. The Lamar River and some lesser streams flow into the Yellowstone below the falls at the Canyon.

Any such encroachment upon the Yellowstone, in my judgment, is not necessary, and will do very great harm; and should not be permitted.

The value of water for power and reclamation purposes I fully appreciate; but since the water does not remain in the Park, means may always be found to utilize the water after it leaves the Park to the same, and often to a greater, extent than if the effort was made to use it in the Park.

(Signed) JOHN BARTON PAYNE.

Is not this a competent and definite answer to Senator Walsh's plausible plea?

I am inclined to distrust the statements of some of these gentlemen who are after the public property for private benefit, since I have heard from Mr. William C. Gregg, an Eastern business man, who has for many summers been going off the main roads in the Yellowstone to study its wonders. (The development of this great Park has scarcely begun. Barely 60 miles of road exist in its area of more than 3,300 square miles.)

Mr. Gregg in July went with his camera to the Falls River Basin in the southwest corner of the Yellowstone Park, where the other scheme referred to by Judge Payne would dam 8,000 acres, as a beginning, of what is claimed to be land "of a swampy nature . . . and without any scenic value." Read what Mr. Gregg writes me from the Park, under date of August 24:

> A broken camera has brought me back from the Falls River Basin. I have spent a week around there, and am going back for another week.
>
> I have time only to report that my pictures are successful so far, and that they will show that the southwestern region is a choice part of the Park. The so-called "swamp" is a series of meadows. The bottoms are well wooded and watered, and fish are plentiful. It is a campers' paradise. I have pictures of three or four fine falls and cascades never photographed before; one falls 130 feet, one cascade 300 feet, and another 380 feet.
>
> The flooding of the valley (perhaps the finest valley in the Park) would bring the water almost to the base of these beautiful Park features.
>
> (Signed) WILLIAM C. GREGG.

Can there be any other proper conclusion than that the only safe policy is to keep *all* commercialism out of *all* the National Parks?

The Falls River Basin scheme passed the Senate, and was held up in the House because public-spirited men and women rallied to the call of the American Civic Association and secured objection there. It

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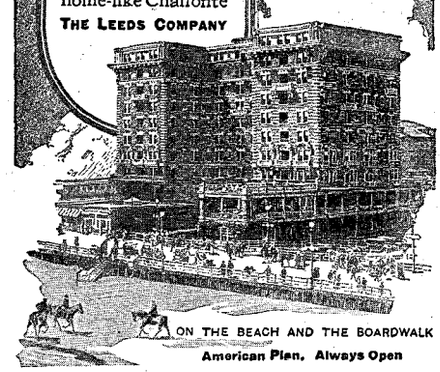

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EXPLOITING THE YELLOWSTONE. IS IT NECESSARY—OR MERELY CHEAPER?

(Continued)

can yet pass, and it will pass, unless there is an unmistakable expression to Congress of what, I hope, is the feeling of the vast majority of the people who own the National Parks.

The danger to these public possessions is peculiarly great now, because the Federal Water Power Act, approved June 11 by President Wilson, opens to power exploitation every National park, monument, reservation, and even cemetery where a drop of water runs.

By urgent representations to the newly created Federal Water Power Commission we have secured a temporary check to the claims already filed. (They include assaults on the Yosemite and the Grand Canyon.) On August 13 the Secretary of Agriculture, the Hon. Edwin T. Meredith, as Chairman of the Commission, wrote me as follows:

> I am sure you will be glad to learn that so far as the immediate situation is concerned the Federal Water Power Commission has already taken such steps as it may properly initiate to safeguard the National Parks against the evils you fear. The Commission has adopted a resolution directing the Executive Secretary of the Commission to refuse to accept any applications for power permits within existing National Parks until Congress has been given a full opportunity to pass upon the entire question of power development within the National Parks. (Signed) EDWIN T. MEREDITH.

Observe the situation, friends of the National Parks; the delay is only until Congress can have opportunity to act in correction by amendment of the Federal Water Power Act, withdrawing all National parks, monuments, and cemeteries from its otherwise beneficent provisions. A powerful lobby will fight this amendment. Farmers in corporation, I find, are not one whit less greedy, grasping, and selfish than any other group of private interests, whether they include bankers or bricklayers. The Yellowstone Irrigation Association is conducting ably a vigorous campaign for the scheme Senator Walsh is excusing to The Outlook, and the constituents of the Hon. Addison T. Smith, of Idaho, who introduced in the House the Falls River Basin scheme, are organized into some twenty-four close corporations, determined to get this cheaper water if it can be had.

Hands off the National Parks! That is the proper slogan. Those who join in it will make evident to their Congressmen and Senators their attitude, and will insist on the amendment to the Federal Water Power Act, which Senator Jones, of Washington, has promised to introduce, in a letter to Secretary Payne, dated June 9, from which I am permitted to quote the following paragraph:

> I assure you that as Chairman of the Commerce Committee of the Senate I will gladly introduce a bill in the opening of the next session of Congress to repeal this provision of the act and do all in my power to get it passed. (Signed) WESLEY L. JONES.

Organized selfishness in many forms is on the job of exploiting the National Parks. It has powerful connections and much influence. Will the people act in protection of their own precious property?

J. HORACE MCFARLAND,
President American Civic Association.

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

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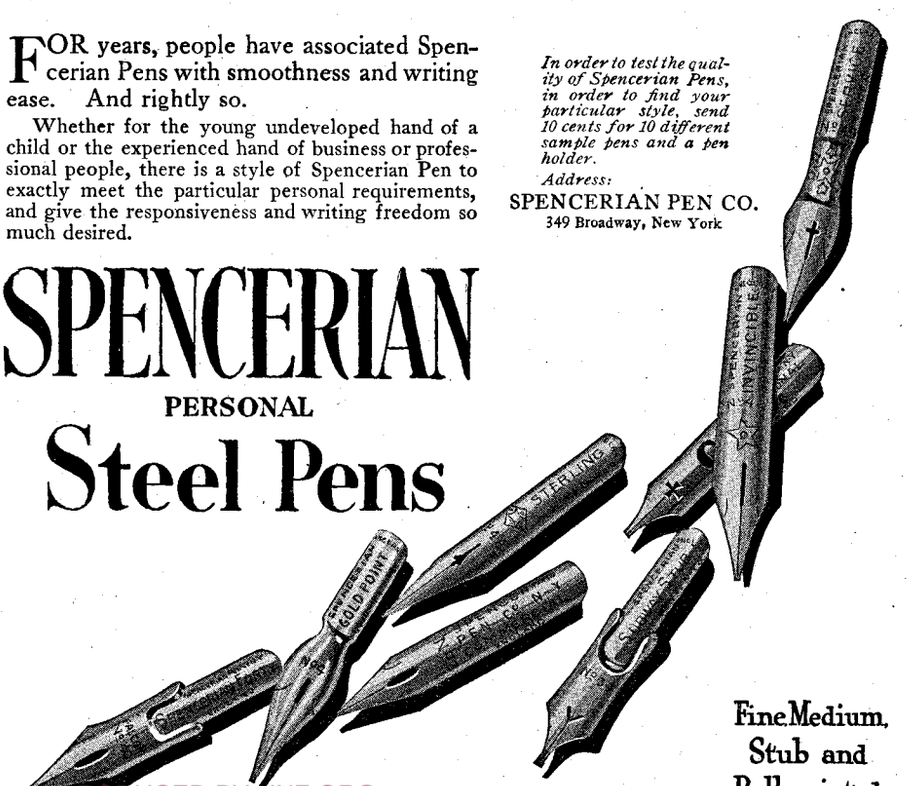

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BY THE WAY

"The amazing thing to me about the French people," a recent letter from France says, "is how little resentful they are over the fearful things of the war. They are simple and kindly—but no longer *gay*. I took a long walk Sunday, along the canal side, where they all go fishing and holiday-ing of a Sunday. No lively chatter, no dancing and playing children—just couples strolling along, quietly talking or silent, the children walking sedately beside them, holding hands. They are still eating war bread here in Brimont, and sugar is very scarce." Brimont was captured by the Germans early in the war and held to the end, so it knew the pangs of invasion to the full.

A young sailor tells in the "Wide World Magazine" of a most remarkable escape from instant death. He stepped on a loose line instead of a foot-rope on the jib-boom of the U. S. S. Annapolis, and was swept under the vessel after receiving a blow from the cutwater. He made a desperate attempt to get away from the suction of the ship, but was literally "keel-hauled" from bow to stern and was then struck by the propeller, losing both his legs. Nevertheless he managed to catch a life-buoy that was thrown to him and clung to it till rescued. The ship put back to port and got him to a hospital, where he slowly recovered. "Now, with the exception of the injuries I have described," concludes this stout-hearted youth, "I am just as well and happy as before."

Not all convicts are of the lugubrious type. Some of them even write humorous verse. A specimen, printed in the Sing Sing "Bulletin," is as follows:

HARRIETTE

Ah, Harriette,
I can't forget
The day we met.

How I regret
The way you set
And et and et.

I'm paying yet
For what you et,
Ah, such a debt!

A British officer who was captured by the Germans during the Zeebrugge raid tells in a current magazine of a "tit for tat" deception in which German purchasers got less than they bargained for. The Englishmen received tea from home at their prison camp; the Germans had no tea. So the prisoners fixed up "dud" packages and sold them to their enemies. "The men," says the story, "would carefully open their packets of tea, empty them into a basin, and after using the tea the leaves were put on the stove to dry and afterwards put back in the packets, which were sealed down again. Fresh tea was put at the top and bottom of the packet in case it was opened." The motto "All's fair in love and war" was regarded by the prisoner-merchants as applying to the transaction.

Chaka, a Negro chief who flourished in Zululand in the early years of the nineteenth century, is characterized as "the Napoleon of South Africa" in a recently published book on "Primitive Society." He introduced "two fundamental innovations" among the people over whom he ruled. He substituted for the reed javelins

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